Akwesasne NOTES

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WHERE THE PARTRIDGE DRUMS

FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU ALCATRAZ

Indians Invade Ft. Lawton

Seattle Post-Intelligencer Mon., Mar. 9, 1970
BY RICHARD SIMMONS

The "weekend warriors" met the Indian warriors at Ft. Lawton yesterday and both sides claimed a victory.

The Indians were attempting to claim a portion of the 1,100-acre army post for an Indian and Alaska native culture center.

About 100 Indians, many wearing headbands and beads, "attacked" the fort from all sides. Some scaled the west bluff overlooking Puget Sound. Some scrambled over fences. And diversionary forces attempted to get through two heavily guarded gates.

The Indians were armed with sandwiches, potato chips, sleeping bags and cooking utensils.

They were met by the 392nd Military Police Company armed with riot gear. The company was a reserve unit at the fort for weekend duty.

The major encounter happened in a small clearing just inside the fence near W. Lawton Avenue. About 30 Indian men, women and children had managed to erect a teepee and were setting up a camp when they were discovered by a roving patrol.

The patrol radioed a platoon standing by at the main gate. The 40-man platoon piled into two army trucks and rushed to evict the invaders. They massed on the road above the clearing and marched down a narrow muddy trail to the teepee.

Bob Satiacum, a Puyallup Indian, attempted to read a proclamation explaining why the Indians were there. But he was drowned out as a seargeant barked orders to the men to "move in and take them away!"

The MPs rounded up as many as they could and carted them off to jail, but some escaped for awhile and roamed around the base.

The proclamation was addressed to "The Great White Father and all his people." It said:

"We the native Americans, reclaim the land known as Ft. Lawton in the name of all American Indians by the right of discovery.

"We feel that this land of Ft. Lawton is more suitable to pursue an Indian way of life, as determined by our own standards.

"If Alcatraz falls to the Indians, then San Francisco falls — then Oakland and Berkeley . . . !"
Barton in Toledo Blade

INVASION TWO

77 Indians Arrested

Shortly before dawn yesterday about 95 Indians made another attempt to establish a headquarters inside Ft. Lawton's gates.

The Army arrested most of them at daybreak.

The men and women had camped the night before at the foot of a steep bluff leading up to the fort from the beach which forms the west boundary of the U.S. post.

They were able to set up a temporary tent and get a warming fire going before they were surrounded by military police from the 392nd MP Battalion stationed at Ft. Lewis. The Indians were asked if they would leave peacefully.

They answered they would be peaceful but wouldn't leave.

The MPs moved in and began carrying the Indians away to the Military Police jail. Some of the would-be invaders escaped, but at final count 52 men and 24 women and one 15-year-old boy had been arrested and taken to the jail.

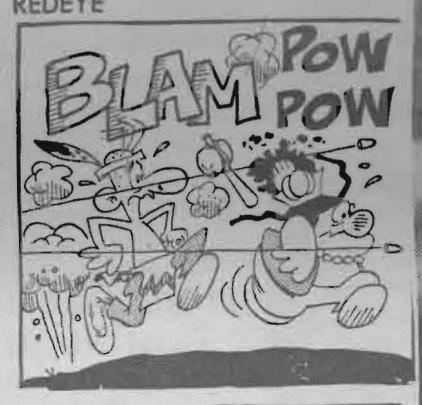
The Army was doing everything possible to prevent a recurrence of the chaos that took place last week at the 1,100-acre army post, which will become excess federal property this summer.

The Indians would like to take over the land for a multi-cultural center. The City of Seattle wants the land for a park and King County also has staked a claim on the property.

The encounter yesterday was peaceful and no one has leveled the accusations of brutality that arose from last week's demonstration. Observers from the Seattle Human Rights Commission were allowed into the jail to watch the proceedings and reported that the Indians were not treated roughly.

MORE FORT LAWTON NEWS ON PAGE 2, 4

REDEYE



'Invasion' Described

Col. Stuart J. Palos, Fort Lawton commanding officer, gave an account of the Indian "invasion" of the fort yesterday. Seventy-seven Indians tried to establish headquarters inside the fort's boundaries.—Times staff photo by Greg Gilbert.

GRACE THORPE, DAUGHTER OF LATE INDIAN ATHLETE JIM THORPE

"We came here in peace. But these Army people are all uptight."

Lawton—Geronimo Captor

Ft. Lawton, scene of two Indian "uprisings" in the past week, and presently the scene of an Indian encampment outside its gates, was named for the man who captured Geronimo.

Army orders dated Feb. 9, 1900 decreed that "the new military post at Magnolia Bluff near Seattle, Washington, will be known as Ft. Lawton," in honor of the late Maj. Gen. Henry W. Lawton, U.S. Volunteers, who was killed in action at San Mateo, Philippine Islands, on Dec. 19. 1899.

In 1886 he was selected by Gen. Nelson A. Miles to lead troops into Mexico in pursuit of the Indian chief Geronimo, whom he captured.

Ft. Lawton Braces For New Type Indian Attack

Indians Seized in Attempt to Take Over Coast Fort

United Press International

Indians being escorted from Fort Lawton yesterday after attempt to take over the fort

—P-I Photos by Tom Brownell.

INDIAN WOMAN RESISTED AND MPs WRESTLED HER INTO A CAR

WIREPHOTO (AP)

The Post-Intelligencer managed to get inside the jail shortly before all press personnel were barred. The jail was a scene of chaos, with children crying and MPs carrying demonstrators to the cells. Only one instance of violence was witnessed when a young Indian man was shoved up against the desk and handcuffed.

Near the southwest gate a woman was sitting on the lawn near the road. She was being guarded by a lone MP. Her name was Grace Thorpe and she is the daughter of former Olympic champion Jim Thorpe. Mrs. Thorpe is a Sac and Fox Indian.

"I weigh 200 pounds," she told The P-I, "It's going to take four of them to carry me away."

She also explained why she was there:

"A year ago I was selling real estate in Phoenix, Ariz. Then a little while ago I read about the Alcatraz Indians and decided I should do something worthwhile in life before I pass on."

Her daughter was in college, she said, so Mrs. Thorpe decided to go to Alcatraz to see what she could do to help.

"It looks like we're at Alcatraz to stay and so I decided to move on here to help," she explained, as she held up a bag of sandwiches. "We came here to Ft. Lawton in peace, but these Army people are all uptight.

We're gentle people.

"It's about time the Indian pople started being more vocal."

* * * *

Seventeen of the 78 persons arrested by military police yesterday on Ft. Lawton have been cited to appear before U.S. Commissioner Walter B. Reseburg at 1:30 p.m. today at the federal courthouse.

And beginning at noon, the Indians who have been picketing the base for a week and who have "invaded" it twice, will hold a demonstration outside the courthouse.

Their purpose is to keep attention on their claim to the military land and also to attempt to obtain a hearing before President Nixon, a spokesman said.

While yesterday's invasion was going on, with a roundup by military police, other Indians continued their vigil outside the main gate at Ft. Lawton.

Tepees, tents and camping equipment have been set up along the Cyclone fence separating the fort from the street outside.

MPs are continuing their guard of the gate and prohibit all unauthorized traffic from entering the fort.

Gary Beaver, 26, who has lived in the Seattle area for two years, pointed out that the Indians realize the futility of trying to establish a camp on the fort grounds. But added:

"Our demonstrations are helping to get us support from all parts of the country. People are learning about our cause."

Col. Stuart Palos, Ft. Lawton commandant, stood by at the gate Sunday afternoon to watch the proceedings. He explained that the Army has been placed in an odd position.

"I'm in daily contact with Bernie White Bear and he realizes that the Indians' struggle is against the city and not actually against the Army," he said. "We have one order and that's to keep the post secure and prevent unauthorized squatters from setting up a camp on military property."

Col. Palos said that he felt it might be time for a third party to begin mediating the situation. He suggested that the Bureau of Indian Affairs or the Office of Economic Opportunity should step in and take a more active interest in the Indians' problems in the area.

The colonel stressed the fact that all the demonstrations have been peaceful.

"I've mentioned to White Bear a couple of times hat it's important to keep the Indian camp outside the gates policed up and to make sure garbage is removed," he said. "Or there might be the chance that local residents would get up a petition against them."

Col. Palos and the Indian representatives both felt that if everyone could sit down and talk about the situation that certain compromises could be reached.

Meanwhile the "Battle of Ft. Lawton" moves into its second week and the prisoners, some of them POWs for the second time, were processed at the jail, then expelled from the fort.

* * * * * * * *

THE BACKGROUND OF THE INVASION

SPECIAL COMMUNIQUE FROM THE UNITED AMERICAN INDIAN FORT LAWTON OCCUPATION FORCES

On February 28, a delegation of approximately forty Indians representing a number of Indian organisations in the Pacific Northwest, met with Senator Jackson and presented a three page letter, requesting his support in acquiring whatever property became surplus at Fort Lawton. We wanted to use this property for the city's 12,000 Indian and Alaskan Natives as a multiservice cultural, vocational and educational center.

We also informed the Senator that we anticipated having higher education programs in some of the 16 buildings with adjoining land not in use by the Army at Fort Lawton that we have applied for on a no-fee lease basis.

Senator Jackson had earlier assured Seattle's Mayor Wes Uhlman that he could look forward to receiving the land for the city to make into a park. But he told us we would have to go through the Dept. of Interior, the BIA, and the General Services Administration. This is the same dual-policy system that has been used to defeat us before.

Do we accept this kind of thing, or do we do something about it?

That's why we called a meeting to occupy the unused land at Fort Lawton, and that's what we tried to do. About 250 Indians took part in the first invasion, All the leaders were beaten up pretty bad, and we have doctor's report to back this up.

Sid Mills had his own camera crew there, but their films were taken from them and exposed. We ranged in age from 2 to 86 years.

WE NEED SUPPORT= GET THE WORD OUT=
Call us at ME 3-3726 in Seattle. Ask for John Vigil or Sid Mills.

HURRY! HURRY !

turn us on!

TO YOU WHO STAYED TOO LONG

Yeah, we swing out here
on the reservation

We were savages and
you sent us salvation
You came cross-eyed
and pointed a rightous finger
to a fantasy sky
Sky of impotent promise

You saw us toil
together on our land
You planted borders
and uncommon confusion
sprouted into unharmony
These foreign seeds
of allotment
grew green
jealousy, greed
and you didn't know

We will tell you
of a not funny farce
Ladies and Gentlemen
we present.....
"THE THREE RING TREATY CIRCUS"
Watch the baggy suit magician
juggle terms
then make them all disappear

We saw waves of dust
Anthropologists ON SAFARI!
(peeping tomsdicksandharrys)
They came with telescopic eyes
to bury our remains
They still come
to study the defeated warrior
and leave sneaker tracks

You saw us love our land
You saw us live with our land
and decided that we must
CONQUOR THE LAND!
MAKE THE LAND WORK!

You were shocked
by the medicine man
UNHOLY WITCHCRAFT
you shrieked and made
the sign of the cross
We thanked the Great Spirit
for providing for us
It's the DEVIL'S DANCE
you declared and chanted
a catechism or two

There once were lakes
and some were condammed
Now craters crack in the sun
and our throats are dry

You socked it to the buffalo
and hunger carves us hollow
Strange packages arrive
Cans of powder and you say
it is good to eat
It tastes of dust
and water added
turns dust to mud

TB you say
yes we watch TB
We watch our future
grow tired
cough blood and die
Yes we only watch
and wait for our
fortieth year
when we will all
sleep in the dust
Oh TV?
we have heard
of the box that eats fire
Some of us do not believe
Why does not the fire

Why does not the
fire eat the walls
And they say our fathers
perform many massacres
right inside this box
But what of Wounded Knee?

Yeah, we swing out here
on the reservation
from the neck

-- Dolly Bird

In sadness, loneliness,
Time passes away.

I feel as if I'm in the midst,
unable to be seen.

Wondering how to enjoy life,
And what good is life?

Sonia Pete
(student)

THINK WE HAD FORGOTTEN YOU?
OR DID YOU FORGET US?
The November issue, which came out in January, was the last issue before this one. We try to get an issue out once a month, but it takes $1400 each month to do that. We just now raised that amount -- and that is why we're so late.

If you haven't yet contributed to the cost of printing, why not do that now? A lot is happening on the Indian scene, and we'd like to be on time with the May issue.

You can help too by selling the paper (or if you are already selling it, by sending in the money as soon as possible. Just let us know how many you can handle, and we will send them at our risk. HELP EDUCATE OTHER INDIANS BY SELLING THIS PAPER IN YOUR AREA.

Can you talk your library into subscribing at a library rate of $5 per year? Do you know of people we should send a sample copy to? Do you have any clippings to send in? Do you write any poems, stories, articles?
THIS PAPER IS KEPT GOING ONLY THROUGH THE PARTICIPATION OF ITS READERS. NO BODY ELSE KEEPS THE PAPER GOING.

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ROOSEVELTOWN, N.Y. 13683

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EDITOR: JERRY GAMBILL

IF YOUR ADDRESS LABEL IS IN RED, YOU WILL NOT RECEIVE ANOTHER ISSUE UNTIL WE HEAR FROM YOU.

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ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS WRITE US!

TO RECEIVE THIS PAPER, WRITE
AKWESASNE NOTES
ROOSEVELTOWN,
N.Y. 13683

*SINCERE THANKS TO EVERYONE WHO HELPED MAKE THIS POSSIBLE.

Our publisher, a necessity for postal regulations, is Wesleyan University of Middletown, Connecticut. We must keep financially self-supporting, but we value the boost we get from Dr. David MacAllister and the Indian Studies Program there.

Others help too. This issue was put together by Rarihokwats, Saksari, Spook Burns, Kanento, Kenneth Sharrow, Richard Bonaparte and others. Mike and Agnes Boots made their house available for a workroom, and kept us fed. Agnes Leaf loaned the telephone and chased us with messages. Ernie Benedict looked after mail. We value each other's help, and invite you to join us in keeping this a useful newspaper.

With this issue, we have a "circulation man", Francis Boots, to look after the 500 new addresses that come in each month, and have to be kept by postal areas, and with organising the all-night job of addressing and bundling and mailing papers. He also promotes the paper in Indian ...

YOUR DONATION IS NEEDED TO KEEP THIS PAPER GOING TO THOSE WHO NEED IT!

COMPLIMENTS OF THE MANAGEMENT

IN REPLY REFER TO:

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
Intermountain School
Brigham City, Utah 84302

Mr. Jerry Gambill
Box 435
Rooseveltown, New York 13683

Dear Mr. Gambill:

We have just been introduced to your newspaper, the "Akwesasne Notes" - Vol. 1, No. 9. This paper can be used advantageously in our school and we would appreciate having three copies sent

Thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely yours,

Vincent DeNunzio

Vincent DeNunzio, Teacher
~~Supervisor, Language Arts~~

P. S. Since Intermountain is a school for Navajo students, we are assuming that there is no cost for these subscriptions.

Noted:

L. W. Gapps

L. W. Gapps
Principal

The Seattle Times Monday, March 16, 1970

Indians Want Nixon Powwow

Indian leaders today vowed to continue their vigil outside Fort Lawton until President Nixon sends a representative to a "powwow."

In a peaceful raid on the fort at dawn yesterday, the second in two successive Sundays, Indians set up a tepee right in view of the officers' quarters.

Seventeen Indians were cited to appear today before United States Commissioner Walter J. Reseburg, Jr., for unlawfully entering federal property.

But Bernie Whitebear, an Indian leader and one of those cited, said, "We feel we entered a land rightfully ours and under a flag of truce. There was no criminal intent."

Whitebear said 77 Indian men, women and children entered the fort. In addition, runners went back and forth between the fort grounds and pickets outside to keep open a line of communication, he said.

Only those who had been given letters of expulsion a week ago were cited.

Many of the members of the Indian council were cited, including Whitebear, Bob Satiacum and Grace Thorpe, daughter of famed Indian athlete, Jim Thorpe.

UNLIKE a week ago, there were no charges of brutality against military police who took the Indians into custody.

Gary F. Bass, an attorney, and a representative of the Seattle Human Rights Commission were allowed into the post stockade as observers.

Gary Bray, a Colville Indian who came here with a group that has been holding Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay, twisted an ankle during yesterday's "invasion," Whitebear said.

The invasion had some aspects of an old Western movie. The Indians scaled the steep, western face of Magnolia Bluff to gain entrance to the fort's grounds.

Although Col. Stuart J. Palos, post commander, said the Indians were seen climbing the bluff, Indian leaders felt the Army was taken by surprise.

Palos said: "We did not want anybody to get hurt falling off the bluff. I told them to 'come right up, but you're going right off.'"

INDIANS SAW the "invasion" from a different standpoint. Whitebear said they were on the fort a half hour, set up a campfire and began "whooping it up" before military police came.

Then Indians and soldiers remained apart, he said, and under a white flag of truce the Indian leaders met with Palos and read a proclamation laying claim to the fort. Most of the 1,100-acre facility is to be declared surplus. Indians want it for a cultural center. Seattle is bidding to make it into a park.

Whitebear said the Indians refused to leave the fort and had to be carried individually to waiting buses.

The Army put the Indians in a stockade, fed them noodle soup and bologna sandwiches for lunch and released them after processing about 5 p. m.

Bray said the second invasion of the fort was to let President Nixon know the Indias were serious a week ago when they asked him to appoint a representative for negotiation.

Before this afternoon's hearing on the charges, the Indian leaders scheduled a planning session and demonstration at the United States Courthouse.

The demonstration, Whitebear said, was meant to show:

"We entered our land. We are the natural inhabitants. We cannot enter our land illegally."

The Army said 52 men, 22 women and three juveniles were processed for identification and new "invaders" were given letters of expulsion. All were fingerprinted and photographed.

Palos said:

"This was necessary for future identification as so few of them were carrying any bona fide ID . . ."

Legal actions were coordinated with Stan Pitkin, United States attorney for Western Washington; Reseburg, and military legal authorities from Fort Lewis, Palos added

Whitebear said residents still are giving Indians strong support. He said some nearly residents are allowing picketing Indians outside the fort to use their bathrooms. Pickets are receiving donations of food and other supplies.

A NEIGHBORHOOD petition complaining about the Indian pickets at the main gate demanded that "some action be taken to stop the noise and stupid acts that occur."

Signed by about two dozen residents, the petition was expected to be sent to the mayor, United States senators, Army officials and county executive, one signer said.

The around - the - clock vigil has weathered rain and sunshine but morale remains high, Whitebear noted. Supporters from California are coming to assist here.

"We feel there is a moral obligation of the federal government to give top priority on any federal - surplus land to Indians," said Miss Thorpe.

Alcatraz was the first federal land Indians claimed. But the Fort Lawton invasion was not the only one planned yesterday.

In New York, Indians from 14 tribes were foiled in an attempt to take historic Ellis Island when their 16-foot boat developed engine trouble as they tried to leave the New Jersey shore. The 27½-acre island, where an estimated 15 million immigrants were processed for entry into this country, was abandoned in 1954.

Members of the United Indians of All Tribes chanted and kept a rhythm for dancing pickets outside the main gate at Fort Lawton yesterday. A large crowd of Indians and supporters awaited the release of the 77 persons being processed for illegal entry.—Times staff photo by Greg Gilbert.

TOPICAL COMMENT: A LIGHT AT ALCATRAZ

The Indian and White Man's Law

BY MONROE E. PRICE

Monroe E. Price is professor of law at UCLA and deputy director of California Indian Legal Services. In addition, he serves as chairman of the American Bar Assn.'s Committee on the American Indian.

For most Americans, the protection of legal rights works within a well-defined system. The laws that control our lives are of our own making and, having evolved concurrently with our culture, conform substantially to our own ideas of what is right. The legal system is designed to maximize freedom, to encourage people to plan, to act, to be enterprising.

For American Indians, federal law does the opposite.

The laws affecting Indians are those of an alien culture and have been designed not to maximize freedom, but to shape and channel the lives of Indians as the federal government from time to time thinks wise. The laws are administered by a bureaucracy which is just emerging from a colonial past. The system for protecting Indian rights is full of traps. The federal government, obligated to represent Indians in protecting their natural resources, is disabled by conflicting loyalties.

Because Indian rights are subject to so many restrictions and limitations, landholdings slowly diminish, valuable water rights dribble away until valuable economic and human resources are in desperate straits. As a result, development of these resources is impossible and the Indian remains doomed to poverty and distress as reflected in the statistics which have been reiterated until the citizen has been dulled by them.

Today, a major issue in the protection of Indian legal rights is the hopeless tangle of conflicting interests within the Department of Interior and the Department of Justice.

The federal government holds all Indian lands in trust for the Indians. As trustee of Indian lands, the government is legally bound to preserve and protect Indian resources against diminution. Indians have been told, time and again, that the federal government intends to fulfill its obligations; and as a consequence, they have relied on government advocacy in their interest.

On the other hand, the Bureau of Reclamation, the Bureau of Sport Fisheries and Wildlife, the Bureau of Land Management all have interests which are contrary to those of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, yet they are all agencies of the Department of the Interior and all respond to the secretary and rely on the same lawyers.

Indian Rights Trampled

It is easy to see that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has the least powerful constituency. The Indian must look for protection of his rights to an agency which is often politically too weak to oppose the Indian's foes within the same department.

A few examples will illustrate how Indian rights are trampled or ignored through the internal conflicts of the Department of Interior.

The Department of Interior, wearing the hat of the Bureau of Reclamation, seeks to divert Colorado River water for the benefit of non-Indian users in the growing cities of the Southwest. The same is true along the Rio Grande and in other river basins. The Indians are not consulted and their rights to water are virtually disregarded. Among powerful voices, the Indian people have difficulty in being heard.

When these Indian interests are in litigation, the Justice Department often represents these conflicting interests.

Pyramid Lake Indian Reservation is a recent example of conflict. While the Bureau of Reclamation was pillaging the lake by diverting the Truckee, the Bureau of Indian Affairs sat quietly by, not raising any questions.

Just this year, the Department of Interior urged the Navajo Tribal Council to surrender vast amounts of Colorado River water for the 1969 version of trinkets. As a final irony, the agency the Indians are supposed to trust—the Bureau of Indian Affairs—prepared the resolution giving away valuable Indian water rights for the Tribal Council.

The problems of Indians involving departmental conflicts are often characterized by their low visibility and technical character. Congressman Pettis of California recently expressed his outrage at what he called the "contemptible conduct" which resulted in the "giveaway" of 1,500 acres of valuable Mojave Indian land by the Bureau of Land Management to the State of California. The Mojaves had been denied their day in court through a series of technical and procedural decisions—hardly page one material. Yet, although the cavalry is absent, the result is the same.

A related obstacle to protecting Indian rights to land is psychological. Non-Indians scoff at native rights to land, expediently forgetting that the idea of private property is deeply embodied in the American experience. They may object to "unearned" income.

In Parker, Ariz., recently, a non-Indian truckdriver who lives near a fertile reservation complained bitterly about the lease income some Indian people obtained without work. It seems improper to some that a few Indians in Palm Springs should wax rich because their land soars in value, but no one bothers to question the right of descendants of industrial giants to their inherited wealth. Unlike Horatio Alger, Indians are supposed to work hard and remain poor.

The dissipation of Indian land and water rights continues with the passage of time.

"... And the usual jitters affected the stock market today ... the war, tight money, inflation and the Indian occupation of Alcatraz!"

Whole economies are built upon dying Indian rights. At some point the wrong becomes so monumental that correction is beyond the legal conscience.

That is part of the difficulty of the Navajo Reservation, where water claims to the Colorado can unsettle patterns of growth in Arizona, New Mexico and the rest of the Southwest. In Southern California, the San Luis Rey, which used to water the reservations of the Pauma Valley, now bypasses them to serve white-owned citrus and avocado groves and the gleaming subdivisions of Escondido.

Water and land disappear while the government mulls over what to do. Recently, Federal Judge Edward J. Schwartz in San Diego ordered the Department of Justice to take a stand on how best to protect Indian water rights of two small reservations on the San Luis Rey River. In the San Luis Rey case, the federal government had been "considering" how to fulfill its trust duty for almost 45 years as valuable water was lost each year.

In another Indian water rights case, the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals expressed its agreement with the judgment that "from the very beginnings of this nation, the chief issue around which federal Indian policy has revolved has been, not how to assimilate the Indian nations whose lands we usurped, but how best to transfer Indian lands and resources to non-Indians."

In another case, a woman whose land was taken for taxes in the Nez Perce Reservation in Idaho asked the government to take corrective action. In 1962, she was told the government would look into it. Seven years later she had heard no reply.

Indian rights have also suffered because of deficiencies in the effectiveness of the private bar. Part of the reason for less than adequate advocacy lies in the debilitating requirement that contracts between a tribe and its lawyer be approved by the Secretary of the Interior. No other American has to have his lawyer approved by a potential adversary.

Lawyers cannot help but feel that intense criticism of the government may mean that their contracts will not be renewed. Lawsuits which too vigorously attack bureau incompetence may mean unfavorable action by local Bureau of Indian Affairs officials on an attorney's contract.

Part of the fault lies with the bar itself. Two years ago, George Ringwald of the Riverside Enterprise won a Pulitzer Prize for disclosing unconscionable fees and unethical conduct by the bench and bar charged with protecting the estates of Palm Springs Indians.

Land and water are tangible aspects of important spiritual rights. The continuing destruction of the economic basis of Indian society goes hand in hand with destruction of the spirit. After over 1,000 years of continuous occupancy, some New Mexico Pueblos may lose their ability to function as communities as their source of water disappears.

The federal government has used federal law in important ways to hasten the decline of Indian culture. Reservations are used as a weapon to force the Indian into a mold, to change the Indian's personality, his style of life, his religion and his diet rather than as a means of preserving and perpetuating a valuable culture. The trustee of Indian lands has looked at its job as "civilizing" the Indian, as turning him into a farmer, or a city-dweller, a welder, or migrant worker.

Reservations Underpopulated

Land lies fallow because Congress and the secretary refuse to allow long-term leases. Reservations are underpopulated because of massive federal efforts to end the future of the community by attracting its youth to the city. Indian schools are used to teach children that their own culture, language and religion are second-rate and should be rejected. "Our Brother's Keeper," a splendid recent book edited by Edgar S. Cohn, cites an ironic essay assignment in a Chippewa school. The topic: "Why we are all happy the Pilgrims landed."

The right to a way of life is closely tied to the right to hold land, to have a private place where families can flourish in their own way. Yet even that has been denied the Indians.

No other group in the United States has been subjected to a purposeful land redistribution scheme designed to change patterns of culture. As recently as 1958, the Congress authorized the breaking up of the already small, remote and scattered California rancherias. "Termination"—the federal policy of the 1950s—was designed to end the Indian way of life and bring the Indian people into the mainstream by carving up the land of the Indians, distributing it to them individually, and ending all federal assistance and protection of the Indians.

Law and the legal system, then, have not served the Indian people well. The legal system has not lived up to its promise because it is overweighted with internal conflicts. The result is a history of federal Indian policies which are now derelicts upon the sands of the reservation. Because of their culture Indians are extremely reluctant to focus attention on their problems through highly visual public displays. Arrayed as they invariably are against powerful political interests, without strong public support the Indians face impossible odds.

The taking of Alcatraz may begin a new era of Pan-Indian awareness and activity. That hard and lonely settlement has been greeted not with tear gas but with a sense of hope and promise. The band of Indians on the prison island have formed a policy for themselves and by themselves. They are staking a claim for the restoration of a culture and a strength of community that should not be lost. The wager they are asking the country to make is a safe one: that they cannot be more wrong than the great white fathers of the past.

ON THE SOLID ROCK

Indian squatters on rockbound Alcatraz island are a somewhat captive audience for Southern Baptist preacher Wayne Bailey, 26, a Creek-Seminole who is pastor of nearby San Francisco's seventy-five-member American Indian Baptist Church.

Hostile Indian leaders have protested informal open-air services he holds at the abandoned federal prison, scene of a takeover by hundreds to publicize nationwide Indian grievances. They charge him with importing a "white man's religion." But Bailey replies they haven't got a case "because Christianity is the dominant faith among American Indians."

Although Bailey, a Bacone College alumnus with pastoral experience in Shawnee, Oklahoma, fully agrees with the movement's goals, his own priority is to reach those on The Rock "who need Jesus, our blood brother." For him Alcatraz is more than a symbol; it is a happy hunting ground—for souls.

WENDI LEWIS

Indians say 'Rock' is theirs

United Press International

SAN FRANCISCO — "Alcatraz is a rocky, isolated, rundown, nonproductive small island," said Dean Chavers, a 24-year-old American Indian. "It is very much like a typical reservation."

Most Indian reservations, however, don't sit in the middle of San Francisco Bay in full view of hundreds of thousands of area residents, nor are they very lucrative moneymakers for cruise boats and coin-operated binoculars sighted from Telegraph Hill, Fisherman's Wharf, or the Golden Gate Bridge.

And perhaps that's one of the best reasons a group of Indian college students picked "The Rock," with its bleak, sheer walls and crumbling prison buildings, for a defiant claim to "free Indian land."

Since their illegal "invasion" of the former maximum security prison island Nov. 20, the force of about 120 men, women and children has won worldwide publicity. They insist Alcatraz is legally theirs and that they have a right to live on it as they please, without government supervision.

The Federal prison has been abandoned since 1963 when it became too expensive to maintain. It was taken over by the General Services Administration (GSA) which gave the city of San Francisco first option to buy.

The indians, however, claim first rights, citing an 1868 treaty between the U. S. government and the Sioux tribe which provided for unused Federal land to revert to Indian ownership. The Indians on Alcatraz consider their occupation a turning point in United States government-Indian relations and believe it to be the most significant event since Army troops crushed the "Ghost Dance" — the last uprising of the Indian wars — in 1890, after which Indians decided to stop fighting the white man.

With their rugged existence on the island well established, the Indians, mostly college students from San Francisco State College or the San Francisco Bay area, have lined up a growing number of prominent paleface supporters.

"The significant thing", Chavers said in an interview, "is that support is coming from all segments of society — blacks and whites, business and, organized religion, congressmen — even reactionaries and conservatives."

Chavers, a north Carolina Lumbee, keeps track of contributions to the Alcatraz relief fund and coordinates supplies, transportation and other logistical problems.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1970

Teen-Age Indians Occupying Alcatraz Are Feeling Grip of Boredom

By EARL CALDWELL
Special to The New York Times

ALCATRAZ, Calif. In the afternoon they sit at the wooden tables in the dining hall and pass the time playing cards and listening to their music.

Most of them are teenagers who have been living on Alcatraz for nearly three months and there is nothing left for them to explore.

They have been through the old cellblock. They have slipped down to The Hole. And they have climbed the decaying towers where the guards once patroled.

Three months have passed since the Indians reasserted century-old treaty rights and laid claim to the island. Several hundred were here at first, but no more than a hundred have stayed. Getting enough money and food is still a problem, but not for the youngsters in the dining hall. For them the novelty is gone, the excitement has worn away.

"Let's face it," one youth said bluntly, "the people out here are getting bored."

Professionals Needed Now

There is boredom now, but mostly because the work that could be done has been completed.

The kitchen and the dining hall have been built. The portable toilets are in. The old prison buildings that were found unsafe have been found and placed off limits. A school has been set up and is functioning. A medical center has been built. An old handball court has even been turned into a gymnasium suitable for basketball.

However, there is still much more to be done. But the Indians cannot do those jobs. What they need now are professionals — plumbers and electricians and planners and builders. And for that, they need money.

So in the afternoons now the teen-agers who came here to join in a cause sit restlessly in the dining hall eating chunks of fried bread while they play their games.

But while they spend their afternoons in leisure, in a quiet room in another of the old buildings, the elected council is busy in an effort it hopes will make the Indians' dreams for Alcatraz a reality.

Planning Grants Sought

At present the council is putting together a proposal for a series of grants to plan redevelopment of the island.

"It looks very encouraging," Earl Livermore, coordinator of the effort, said. "We are well organized now and we have shown that we can do a lot."

The basic plan for redeveloping the island has not changed. The Indians want an educational and cultural complex and they also talk of an ecology center. In these quiet council meetings and in larger gatherings of all permanent residents, the plans for these centers are being pieced together.

Mr. Livermore, an artist who had been involved in Indian paintings before he came to the island, said that the Indian people on Alcatraz were providing the basic plan. "The people," he explained, "are saying what they want and how they want it. The people are the ones who decide."

Once the basic plan is complete, Mr. Livermore said, it will be presented to Robert Robertson, the director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, a Federal agency that is under the direction of Vice President Agnew.

Mr. Livermore said that the agency "is optimistic that we will be funded." He said that Mr. Robertson would visit the island on Monday.

While awaiting funding, the Indians are also creating a national advisory committee of experts who will aid in transforming their ideas into a workable plan.

Although the Government is being called on for the basic funds, plans are also under way to submit proposals to the nation's major foundations.

The original group of Indians who came to the island landed last Nov. 11. They claimed the island as their property, citing the old treaty, which, they said, give Indians the right to unused Federal property.

Alcatraz was abandoned as a Federal prison when the late Robert F. Kennedy was Attorney General, and since that time has sat idle. The Government subsequently put the island up for sale. The State of California refused it. The City of San Francisco said that it was interested, but when the island's future use became a matter of hot debate, the Government withdrew its offer. Amid that controversy, the Indians took over.

After the publicity of the takeover subsided they experienced some troubles among themselves.

"Tribal differences were part of the problem," one young student in the original landing group said. "But there were others, too. We had some drunks and some fights. You know, all the problems that people have."

In the three months since the takeover, Mrs. Thorpe said, more than 12,000 Indians from across the country have visited Alcatraz. Only about 100 remain as permanent residents. But those who stayed on through the weeks of intry rain that just ended promise that they will never leave.

"I got reason to stay," said Dennis Hastings, a student who left college to come here, and build himself a Teepee overlooking Golden Gate Bridge. "Those people back home," he said, "they need help."

He said that he was from the Omaha tribe in Nebraska and that he had just recently gone back to the reservation to visit his parents.

"Thirteen people died in the last month back there," he said. "And they died from things like colds and other diseases that people don't die from anymore. They need help bad, so I'm staying here. We're trying. Maybe if we can do something here it might change things for the people back there on the reservation."

"We've made some mistakes," Mr. Livermore admits, but he adds that "they were our mistakes and we've learned from them."

In a subsequent reorganization, a seven-member council was elected and the remaining 100 permanent residents were incorporated as

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, MARCH 1, 1970

U.S. Weighs a Peace Offer by Alcatraz Indians

Special to The New York Times

SAN FRANCISCO, Feb. 28— The Federal Government has taken under study the latest proposal from the Indians who started to occupy Alcatraz Island three months ago and have since ignored all declarations that they are illegal trespassers.

In a ceremony including a Sioux prayer and the smoking of peace pipes, the Indians presented a proposal earlier this week to Robert Robertson, director of the National Council on Indian Opportunity, an agency attached to Vice President Agnew's office.

It was proposed that the Government give $299,424 as a grant for planning an Indian university and cultural center on the island. The money would go to a corporation called Indians of All Tribes, governed by a seven-member council to be elected by the 115 Indians now living at the abandoned Federal penitentiary.

How the money would be spent was explained in detail, specifying the number of typewriters and filing cabinets, the amount of postage and the cost of a semimonthly newspaper.

The largest sum was $130,000, which would allow a salary of $25 a week for each of 100 occupants for one year. Another $42,000 was reserved for consultants' fees.

John Trudell, a college student who lives on the island with his wife and two daughters, said that the grant would only be the beginning. The Sioux Indian said that it would cost $1.8-million to remove most of the buildings from the 12-acre island and eventually much more to construct the university and cultural complex, including an Indian library, archives and an ecology center.

The Indians moved onto the island under the cover of darkness last Nov. 20, claiming ownership under old treaties providing for their utilization of unused Federal land.

Government officials have been unable to agree on a use for the rocky island in San Francisco Bay. The Indians said the rock was more livable than most of their reservations.

According to Grace Thorpe, a spokesman for the Alcatraz Indians, the cost of continuing the occupation is about $3,000 a week. So far the invaders have been able to draw fresh water from tanks filled by Government barges even after the occupation.

Mr. Trudell, the college student, said: "The occupation will be maintained with or without the grant."

Indian Girl, 12, Hurt In Alcatraz Fall, Dies

SAN FRANCISCO (UPI) — The 12-year-old daughter of the leader of the Indian invaders of Alcatraz died Thursday of head injuries suffered in a fall at the island's old federal penitentiary.

Yvonne Oakes, daughter of Richard Oakes who led the invaders onto the island in late November, succumed at a U.S. public health service hospital five days after the accident.

The girl suffered a fractured skull and brain injuries last Saturday when she fell three stories to a concrete staircase. The child tumbled head first from an an iron railing on the third floor of a former guard residence to the concrete staircase below.

She was one of the children living on the island, who spent their time in bead-making classes and playing in and around the rickety old buildings of the former penitentiary.

The child's death came a day after Congressman Edward R. Roybal, D., Calif., promised the Indian occupiers he will press his campaign to have the government turn the island in San Francisco Bay over to them.

Roybal went to the island Wednesday to talk with the 60 or so Indians there.

He assured them that passage of the resolution he has cosponsored backing the Indians will be his "first objective" back in Washington.

The Indians have occupied the former island prison since Nov. 20, demanding that it be given to them to develop as a native American cultural and educational center. The number of Indians on the island has dropped by more than 50 per cent in recent days.

Richard Oakes, a Mohawk Indian and leader in the takeover of Alcatraz, was born on the St. Regis Reservation near Massena.

Control of Alcatraz in hands of Indians as last white leaves

MONTREAL GAZETTE
FEB - 9 1970

SAN FRANCISCO — (Reuters) — Indians assumed virtually-unchallenged control of Alcatraz yesterday, no longer having to share the misty island with the government's one-man security force.

John Hart, who lived on Alcatraz for 21 years, first as a prison guard and then as solitary watchman over the abandoned jail fortress, sailed away to the mainland Saturday for the last time.

The Indian invaders who forced the withdrawal did not crow over Hart's departure when it came — neither did they beg him to stay.

"Everybody wished him farewell. That was that," said Earl Livermore, an Indian spokesman on the mainland.

"We're assuming that we own the island now", he said.

Hart, 60, who knows the notorious rock better than any other person, had agreed with the government there was no point in renewing his contract to maintain the island's security after it was breached by the Indian invasion 11 weeks ago.

The lonely life he led on the abandoned island for the last seven years with his wife Marie, his watchdog and two occasional assistants, was shattered by the 100-man Indian landing. But he made the best of things until his contract expire Saturday.

"We got along very well with Mr. Hart," Livermore said. "His wife was very kind to our children at Christmas. We had a good relationship."

Hart's task of keeping unauthorized people off the island was long ago taken over by the Indians themselves. They set up their own security force which now bars people from landing without government passes or special permits issued by their own mainland office.

GRIN AND BEAR IT — BY LICHTY

"Mind you!.. JUST the pow-wow at Alcatraz!.. don't let me hear about you swinging at those topless joints in San Francisco!"

EL GRITO DEL NORTE
Box 466, Fairview Station
Espanola, N.M. 87532

EL GRITO INTERVIEWS

Rich Oakes, spokesman for Alcatraz Indians, speaks in San Francisco.

The following are excerpts from interviews by an El Grito reporter with Richard Oakes, the 27-year-old Mohawk leader, and with Carol Williams, a Yurok Indian and mother of four.

RICHARD OAKES: There's a sad neglect of all the different tribal cultures. Ten years from now, there may not be anybody out on the reservation to retain our culture and to be able to relate it. So this is actually a move, not so much to liberate the island, but to liberate ourselves for the sake of cultural survival...

For the most part, you find that the people coming here are here for the knowledge they can acquire. We hope we've been instrumental in bringing about an awareness in young people, an awareness that there is something good in the traditional aspect of Indian life. And we hope that the young people begin to respond to the old people, not coming from the high schools, which are white oriented, and trying to teach the old people, when in fact the old people can teach them much more...

One of the basic tenents of Indian life is humbleness, though, it's true, for instance, that the Chicano people don't identify with the Indian part of their life. It's the invisible side for them; or it's the pagan side for them; or it's the side of them that's very savage. They rationalize, so far away from the Indian part of their lives; and I think all their lives try to believe in something they're not, trying to be more and more American...

The sad fact about the non-Indian world is that most of it is not based on the truth, and that's why it's going to fall, to crumble. It's crumbling now, it's falling apart...

Here on this island, we've got so much more. It has so much more in the way of promise, hope, for our own people. Our people are slow to react to something of this nature, and they want to find out how much truth there is in it. It's hard to live a lie.

I speak as a youth, and I speak as a spokesman for the people on the island here, and we are ready to start listening to the old people. Leave the land that has caused so much trouble and heartbreak and come to a neutral area; and leave with us the knowledge so we can go back and teach your children.

CAROL WILLIAMS: When we claimed Alcatraz island for Indians of all tribes, we meant exactly that. It's so very important for the Indian people to realize that we're never going to get the island unless the Indian people are going to come here, and represent the Indians of all tribes. We need to have Indian people that know the Indian culture, to begin now teaching it to the younger people here on Alcatraz.

This is why we want a cultural center and a college that represents young people learning the forgotten culture they left to learn the white man's culture. The young Indians want to come back. They want to learn. Because out there in the white man's culture, you learn that we no longer need the white man's culture. The white man's culture needs our culture...

I have four children of my own. I want them to learn what the Indian people represented on this whole earth. What their heritage is--not just of their tribe, but of all tribes.

And what we want to accomplish on Alcatraz island is only symbolic of what we hope, in the future, will be the way that all mankind will live, in harmony, without the prison...

We need more people. We need people with Indian ways to teach. We need people to teach languages, to tell what the different dances mean. The standards of how the college will be set up will not be white man's standards. It'll be by the standards that the Indians had before the white man came...

I think throughout the years the older people began to be slighted because the younger people were going into a modern world and the older people didn't want to hold them back. And I think now that the younger people have come back and said, "I want my culture." We want to come back. We see out there in the world many, many people. Lost people; unhappy people; people that are wandering around lost and homeless and needing spiritual guidance. We can give it to them, if they want it. We have to go home. We have to learn...

Schools, Isolation And Life On The Rock

7

February 15, 1970

Reprinted from the Stanford Daily, student newspaper at Stanford University.

By Felicity Barringer

ALCATRAZ ISLAND — Isolation. About 50 Indians remain on Alcatraz island in San Francisco Bay — existing between the strong currents in the bay, and the oppressive prison cells standing empty on the heights of the island.

"There's nothing to do here but fish and wander around the island," said one teenage islander, who had come from an Oklahoma reservation before Christmas. "You can only keep exploring so long. It can get boring."

The young man was sitting outside a tent constructed from the trunks of small scrub trees which grow sparsely on Alcatraz, and from a tattered tarpaulin he took from the landing dock. He didn't look at either of us, but gazed out over the water toward Sausalito as he answered a question.

"No, I'm not going to leave. I'm staying. All my life, wherever I went, there were always thousands of whites around me. Every time I left the reservation to go anywhere, there were always whites. I didn't always want to look at their faces. Here I don't have to."

The hill on which he had pitched his tent lay halfway between the heights of the building which had housed the prisoners and the wide courtyard below. In the middle of the courtyard, a small group of cameramen who had come out to the island to film a segment of the "Merv Griffin Show" were wandering around snapping pictures.

In a large gray building to one side of the courtyard — a building which had once housed the prison guards and their families — two schools have been started.

A small child was sleeping alone in one of the two rooms where the preschool is held. Four flights up, one of the founders of the elementary school was stringing beads behind a door labelled "Arts and Crafts." "If not a student, please do not enter without permission," read a notice on the door to the schoolroom across the hall.

Best Of Cultures

"We have to teach the children the best of the Indian culture but we have to include the best parts of other cultures too," said Maria Lavender, a young woman of Polish-Indian ancestry from a Northern California reservation. With her husband, she started the preschool.

"My mother was raised with her grandparents. They were medicine people, so she is one of the last medicine people living. There used to be a practice among Indians, that when a child was born, the umbilical cord would be tied to a cut in a sapling tree. The tree symbolized the lifespan of that person.

"There's so much of Indian culture to teach. I want to equip them with Indian culture and whatever Caucasian culture has to offer. I want to teach them to create, not destroy.

"They can feel why we're here," she added.

Enrolment at the preschool has dropped precipitously, from the 14 students who enroled at the school's opening on January 26 to a low of three.

"Some of the mothers say that it's not the Indian way for a child to be inside when he can be out in nature. But then how is he going to learn?" she asked.

The most regulated feature of the island is its new schools. Doug Remington, on of the founders of the elementary school, operates that establishment with an emphasis on permissiveness, in contrast to Maria Lavender's philosophy of education.

"The sun doesn't shine that much this time of year. When it does, the kids should get a chance to see it, and to be out in it."

The program of the elementary school is to study native culture in the morning, and arts and crafts in the afternoon.

"The kids, for the most part, didn't even know what tribe they were from. For an Indian, this is amazing.

"Most of the parents are California Indians," he went on to say. "They have been gradually assimilated."

Hopes For School

Remington hopes that the school will continue through the spring, so that it can be continued on the mainland in the fall. There is a strong sense of the isolation which surrounds the Indians' attempt to reassert their cultural heritage. The news media has come and, for the most part, gone.

Gary Bray, a decorated Vietnam veteran who had ridden out on the boat with us, was taking a little girl up to see the prison cells on the cita- point out the two turkeys scuffling in the grass on the steep hillside.

"The turkeys got here when I did — right after the occupation started, in early December. We're going to stay as long as we have to, too," he said as we walked up the interminable stairs to the prison proper.

Bray, on the boat-ride to the island, talked briefly of how the island is now being run. "There's a council that carries out what the people want to do — except sometimes they just go ahead and act on their own authority."

A running argument seemed to be going on between various island authorities — the people, the council, and the security patrol which clears all non-Indian visitors to the island.

The isolation, keenly felt by some of the islanders, does not seem to be regarded as a hopeless problem. In time, with greater contact with the mainland, when more concrete action develops from the sense of identity that has developed on the island, Remington, Bray and others seem to feel that what has started on Alcatraz will have far-reaching effects.

Until that time, however, the remaining Indians are captives of their isolation and the petty diviseveness that eventually permeates any group.

But, Bray and others didn't seem to have any second thoughts as he said, "I'm staying."

Heartened by occupation

London, England

We read about the occupation of Alcatraz in your paper. We are greatly heartened to know that the real and original owners are claiming the land.

We have sent translations of the news to various groups in Latin America and express our solidarity with the Red Power movement of America, from many representatives of indigenous "indians," Quichuas and Aymaras of Peru and Bolivia and Araucos of Chile. For the first time American Indians of both north and south parts of the continent *join hands* in their task to win land.

John Edmunds
The Committee for Solidarity with the Victims of Repression in Peru

JANUARY 9, 1970

NEGRO GROUP ASKS USE OF 2 ISLANDS

Envisions Training Projects on Ellis and Alcatraz

By BARBARA CAMPBELL

Dr. Thomas W. Matthew, head of NEGRO, the National Economic Growth and Reconstruction Organization, said yesterday that his black self-help program would ask President Nixon for the use of Ellis and Alcatraz Islands.

Dr. Matthew spoke at a press conference at 101 West 125th Street, a store operated by NEGRO. The physician was released from prison this week by special clemency from the President after serving 59 days of a six-month sentence on tax-evasion charges.

A spokesman for the President said, in announcing the commuted sentence, that it was "in the interest of the country and particularly in communities in which NEGRO is active."

The Islands, Dr. Matthew said, would be used to set up two experimental self-supporting communities of 1,000 families. He plans to ask the President for $10-million in a "lend-lease agreement."

Confidence Expressed

Dr. Matthew said that he would send his request to President Nixon today or tomorrow and that he was confident the President would agree to the plan.

"His act of clemency proves that he is now willing to listen," the physician said, referring to his early release from prison in Danbury, Conn.

About 300 American Indians are now occupying Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay. They claimed the island on Nov. 9, saying it rightfully belongs to them because of an old treaty made with the Sioux.

Dr. Matthew, who plans to fly to California next week to "come to some agreement" with the Indians, said he hoped that they would cooperate.

"We will ask the Indians to take primary leadership of Alcatraz, and blacks will take leadership of Ellis Island," he said.

December 24, 1969

VARIETY

Indians B'casting From Alcatraz

Pacifica Foundation's KPFA-FM (Berkeley, Calif.), which is bankrolled by listeners and operating on a very tight budget, has installed $2,000 worth of equipment on Alcatraz Island where 200 American Indians are living and staking a claim to the abandoned U.S. Government penal isle.

Since the Indians made their claim under a Federal act of 1868 stipulating Sioux braves can claim unused Federal territory, all Alcatraz phone and electric service has been cut off. The station's remote operation is powered by a gasoline generator, and the Indians will broadcast a live Indian Affairs report every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday night. The 15-minute shows covering Indian culture and history as well as running comment on the island claim, will be carried by all three Pacifica stations, KPFA, KPFA-FM Los Angeles, and WBAI-FM New York.

First show was last night (Tues.) during the Indians' first national powwow from the island. Pacifica estimates there are about 100,000 Indians within the listening area of the three stations.

How can we help the Indians who are trying to keep Alcatraz?—Some concerned hippies, Detroit.

Send money to Alcatraz Relief Fund, Bank of California, Mission Branch, 3060 16th St., San Francisco 94103. The 200 Indian settlers also need blankets, rain gears, non-perishable food, cooking utensils, lanterns, first aid kits and kids' toys and clothes. Ship 'em to American Indian Center, 3189 16th St., San Francisco.

ABANDONED BY HIS FRIENDS where he fell, this man was one of many who passed out and were left lying on city streets Saturday afternoon. Later, acting on assurances from DNA Director Ted Mitchell that Civil Rights would not be endangered, police began picking up people who had passed out on the street and taking them to the Henry Hotel to spend the night. City officials said today this policy does violate a person's civil rights, and would not be carried out next weekend. (Staff)

Jailing does not help these people.

Some have been imprisoned scores of times, only to return to drinking as soon as they are released. The harsh conditions of the Detention Center do not serve as a deterrant. Nothing has slowed this illness, which drives some to drink as others crave life itself.

This past weekend showed the almost complete lack of need to jail such people. It did prove an alternative is available. It opened the way for a new approach.

The cooperation of various organizations who took enough interest to see and work with the situation at first hand proved the feasibility of a detoxification center for this community. Such a place would be a humane alternative, even in comparison to a mammoth new prison.

PHS doctors were shocked at the conditions of these people, and with the problems the police face nightly. It opened a new field of understanding for other segments of this community.

City Police officers welcomed the opportunity to deliver persons they picked up to the Henry Hotel, where they are looked after and safe for the night. The likelihood of deaths from exposure is eliminated through this facility, as long as a method exists of getting people to the facility when they are unable to get there by themselves.

The legality of the police delivering persons to this center is in doubt. But if this solution is accepted, surely other methods of delivering such persons can be found.

The proposal to establish day center facilities will also help to solve the probem. The Navajo Tribe isself may also be able to offer assistance, their contribution is yet to be seen.

But the vital lesson of the weekend was the cooperation available in the community, the willingness of many people to offer many solutions to a complex problem. It is the first time this cooperation has been brought together on this issue.

The problem will likely never be completely eradicated. But, some can be helped through proper car and through a variety of approaches.

Jail has not solved the problem, as the number and frequency of arrests proves. Jail was better than nothing, better than allowing them to freeze to death in the streets, but better solutions are possible, as last weekend has surely proven..

Jail does not save these people from themselves. It does not stop their drinking. It is not essential to keep them from freezing to death on the sreets, nor to protect their meagre possessions.. It is not needed to protect the community..

The Gallup (NM) Independent—Feb. 17, 1970

The Independent

An Editorial:

Jail Does Not Help These People

THIS IS PART OF A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PUBLISHED BY THE LONDON (ONTARIO) FREE PRESS. THE ENTIRE HISTORIC ISSUE IS WORTH SENDING FOR. IF YOU WANT A COPY OF THE ENTIRE SUPPLEMENT

FEBRUARY 14, 1970

Fear Deaths By Exposure

By John Waliczek, City Editor

GALLUP — Police Magistrate Judge Lidio Rainaldi yesterday released 173 persons who were confined to the Gallup Detention Center.

The action was in compliance with a court order issued in U.S. District Court in Albuquerque by Judge Howard C. Bratton.

Bratton decreed the city could not confine more than 60 persons at one time. Judge Rainaldi, however, released the entire population of the Detention Center.

The magistrate said he consulted with the city council in an emergency session where it was decided that everyone would be released and the city would start anew.

"We are the only municipality in the country where a person will need a reservation to get into jail," the judge remarked.

Manuel Gonzales chief of police, said he has instructed his police officers to pick 12 persons a day on drunk charges. The city normally arrests about 40 persons a day for being intoxicated.

He explained the drunk tank would hold only that many persons and as of early last night the tank was filled to capacity.

"We are only picking up those who are down," the chief said. "After we reach 12, we will not do anything.

"Once we have hit 12 arrests in one day, and once we have hit 60 prisoners in the detention center, we won't pick up any more," the chief added. "Where they fall they shall lay."

The police chief said the deadlock on arrests could last as much as year until a new jail is constructed. Bids are to be let on Feb. 24, for the 250-bed facility.

"It's a catastrophe," Gonzales said. "It's going to hurt us. I don't know what the situation is going to be like, but I imagine we are going to have some cases of exposure, lots of rollings and some of them are going to get run over.

"I don't know what will happen if the jail is full and we have a serious criminal arrested," the chief said.

"I guess people can now call in and ask if we have hit 60 yet and then know they can't be arrested," he added.

"On Monday you will need a reservation to get in," James Fleming, city manager, remarked.

He said Judge Bratton's order was explicit and they would follow the District Judge's order to the letter.

Judge Rainaldi said he asked for help from DNA, the Public Health Service hospital and the legal aid society, but they did not respond.

"We know the jail is not a place for any drunks," the judge said, "but the DNA offered no assistance or solution for the alcoholic problem.

Raymond Nakai," he continued, "was the only one to offer us any assistance."

Nakai is Chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council.

"One of them told me, 'I don't know what will happen to me and a lot of these guys,' Rainaldi continued. "Many consider the jail their home. It's not a good place for them to spend their time, but it's better than alleys, ditches and gutters."

"The point is," he said, "flat-time is a long-hard time to spend in jail, but is to teach them a lesson, to make them productive and a benefit to society."

"Flat-time was only given to those persons with a long list of drinking and escapees,". . . Judge Rainaldi said. "I was only trying to dry them out.

"Our concern has been for the welfare and safety of the prisoners," he said. "The time in jail gives their bodies time to recover. It gives them a new lease on life."

FEBRUARY 16, 1970

Civil Rights Said Violated

By John Waliczek, City Editor

GALLUP — One of the quietest weekends in many years was reported by Galup police after initial fears Saturday of a crisis situation resulting from ban on the arrests of persons who are drunk.

Police on Saturday stopped arresting persons for drunkenness after the drunk tank in the city jail was filled to its capacity, reportedly set at 12 persons. Fears had been expressed other persons would be left on the streets and might die of exposure during the night.

City officials were meeting this morning in an attempt to secure the gymnasium of the old Central Junior High School for use as a temporary detention center.

James Fleming, city manager, said the city was in violation of the civil rights law by picking up the intoxicated persons and transporting them to the 'sleep-in.'

"Its a form of a civil rights violation," he said. "We were taking them to a place they may not have wanted to go.

Nine out of 10 times," he continued, "we would have been in trouble with the DNA."

The city manager said they "were laying ourselves wide open" to a lawsuit, and the DNA would not say it would not file a lawsuit because of the city's action.

"If no facility is obtained this week, we will not pick them up," Fleming said. "We have no other choice but to let them lay."

In a decision in Kansas City several years ago, it was ruled that the police department could not pick up a man (arrest) with the intention of later letting him go. It was ruled that this was a violation of man's rights and a form of harassment and cause of embarrassment.

Ted Mitchell, director of the DNA, however, said the police could pick up a man, transport him to a location, and then release him. The location, he referred to, is the 'sleep-in.'

After a meeting Saturday afternoon of civic police, Public Health and legal officials, the police resumed picking up persons who were drunk. Instead of being jailed, however, these persons were taken either to the Gallup Indian Community Center or the Henry Hotel . . . "Sleep-In" operated by the Southwest Indian Foundation for safekeeping.

Volunteers, including DNA attorneys and members of the Gallup Moratorium Committee, staffed the Indian Center and looked after the approximately 25 persons brought there

Chief of police Manuel Gonsales said, "There are some drunks thumbing their noses at us," on the streets of the city.

The Rev. John Bacon, pastor of the Baptist Shepherd Mission, at Fifth and Princeton streets, said an intoxicated person forced his way into the church Saturday morning and had to be thrown out physically.

The man then attacked the minister with a lead pipe, but was turned back when Mr. Bacon bluffed him away with a BB gun.

He said he called the police, but was told they could not do anything about the situation.

"We can't even get protection from our police department, he said. "The situation is going to get worse. We should be entitled to some protection.

"It's sheer stupidity," he continued. "It's stupid to have a police department that can't do anything. The DNA has gone too far this time."

FEBRUARY 19, 1970

Washington Help Sought

By John Waliczek, City Editor

GALLUP — The McKinley County Liquor Dealers Association were unsuccessful yesterday with developing a plan that would aid the city's liquor problem.

The association meet with city officials, L. A. (Skeet) McCulloch and six of his 10 agents, in an attempt to meet the city's crisis involving intoxicated persons.

As the meeting was underway, Mayor Ray T. Erwin, Raymond Nakai, chairman of the Navajo Tribal Council, John Schuelke, president of the Gallup-McKinley County schools, Dr. W. B. FitzSimmons, and Harold Mott, General Counsel for the Navajo tribe, were on their way to Washington to seek federal help.

Sam Crow, business manager for the school district, said the school officials are to lend support to the city for a rehabilitation center.

He said they are to meet with the area Congressmen and Administration officials in the city's next move to find a solution to the pressing problem.

"It was sort of impromptu," James Fleming, city manager, remarked, adding the mayor was to be in Washington to discuss funding of the Northside Community Center.

He said the delegation is scheduled to meet tomorrow with George Romney, Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, on the alcoholic problem.

Fleming said the trip is the latest effort by the city to combat the drunks since Howard C. Bratton, U.S. District Judge in Albuquerque issued a court order limiting the city's Detention Center to 60 persons.

Last weekend police took intoxicated persons to two free shelters, without arresting them and will do so again this weekend.

McCulloch appealed to the 50 persons who attended the meeting, for some voluntary coordinated approach to meet the city's problem

"I realize that the problem is not one of the making of the liquor dealers," the liquor director said.

He warned that his six control agents would concentrate on citations for violations of the state law prohibiting the sale of liquor to an intoxicated person.

"You are on notice," McCulloch declared, "that I have instructed my agents to cite for serving persons who are intoxicated."

The liquor director said the dealers need to do something to "cut off the flow until the city of Gallup can cope with the problem. . Give your city government a chance.

Ray Kauzlaric, a tavern owner, and city councilman, commented about throwing out customers when they become intoxicated.

"That's fine for those who live in town," he said. "But you have these people who are from the reservation, and they often wait for their ride home.

"Then, he continued, "one of our people comes in and arrests me for allowing them to loiter."

The tavern owner said "everyone is harping on the liquor problem, but what about the drugs sold to kids that no one does anything about."

He said people are creating the problem and blowing it out of proportions.

Commenting on the council's decision to pick up the intoxicated persons and transport them to the free sleep-in, Kauzlaric said, "It's a shame to let them lay in the streets.

"It's a bad impression" he added. "We are not trying to hurt these people, we are only trying to help them."

McColloch said he didn't expect the dealers to provide any long-term solution to the problem, but only their help now.

"The only way we can eliminate the problem is to cut down on the quantity of liquor they get," he said.

"Even if you follow the law to the letter," McColloch added, "we will still have people on the streets unable to take care of themselves."

If You Ask Me: "What Do You Think of DNA?"

GALLUP — What do people think of the DNA, the legal aid organization of the Navajos?

MRS. MARY KRAMER, GALLUP, said, "I don't think it's doing the Indians any good leaving them on the ground where they fall. If they can't put them in the detention center, there's sure something wrang."

DALE KUBACKI, GALLUP, said, "I'm police officer for the Santa Fe Railroad and I have a hard time trying to keep people off the railroad tracks. I'm scared they'll get killed when they get drunk. The Bible says anyone who drinks will go to hell. The church should look into this as much as the state."

TOBY J. VILLANUEVA, GALLUP, said, "They were too severe on the city. They should consider the problems they do have, rather than taking them to court for what have to do."

WAYNE HUNTER, FARMINGTON, said, "I think the DNA is on the Reservation and it should stay with things on the Reservation. I mean, that's where the money was allocated for."

MRS. RAY SEET, GALLUP, said, "We need a mission in town for people to get together, for the Indians who don't have anywhere to go." Mrs. Seet said cooperation was needed.

JERRY COLLINS, GALLUP said, "They (the DNA) might have some good ideas, some good thoughts, but they don't think them through too well. They may have got rid of the jail, but how many people are going to freeze to death?"

The First Citizen

Edition No. 1

P.O. Box 760
Terminal A.
Vancouver 1, B.C.

November 1969

Because of the number of times when the Indian has been referred to as having a social problem, or the number of times in which the blame or the difficulties and so on, have been assessed to Indian people, I would like to ask how much you are part of the problem, and I hope that you would bear with me to consider this as honestly as you possibly can. I do not apologize to those whom I offend, I only ask you to understand that I am sincere, and that those of you who are critical will have to handle your own anger and your own guilt.

I may speak with some passion, for there are questions about which Canadian society can no longer afford to remain dispassionate. I am concerned, for I believe that we, you and I, are the victims of our own attitudes.

This will be a biased speech. It will be biased against the bias and the prejudice to which Indian people have been confronted by us for so long.

Here is a clipping from the Williams Lake Tribune B.C. discussing the death of pretty Rosemary Roper a 19 year old girl whose body was found in a garbage dump in that area in April 1967.

> "after deliberating, a jury returned its verdict and two men where sentenced each a fine of two hundred dollars, and the third was acquitted."

From the same newspaper, another clipping quoting Gordon Cooper, who has taken over as superintendent of the Williams Lake Indian Agency.

> "I am pleased to find that the area treats the Indians on an equal basis. I haven't noticed much discrimination here."

Here is a clipping from the Calgary Herald, quoting Indian leader, David Courchene, President of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood.

> "When an Indian is impatient with the state of his people and he demands reform, he is accused of being hostile. When a white man makes a similar demand it is called progress."

Here is another article quoting the Minister of Indian Affairs, explaining that because of the austerity program the branch will have to extend the 112 million dollar housing program from a five year period to a seven year period, which means an annual reduction of about six million dollars.
And from the Victoria Times B.C., also quoting the Minister of Indian Affairs;

> "A nine million dollar grant will be given to twenty oil and mining companies for highly speculative, wildcat oil exploration in the Artic areas of Canada."

Another article, which quotes the Minister of Indian Affairs as saying;

> "If Indians had been greedier in the past they would have been better off. I want the Indian to become acquisitive and to know and understand the value of property."

In saying this, Mr. Laing reflects a position that is very much the same as that in the United States where the Commissioner of Indian Affairs said;

> "Our goal should be to have the Indian say I, instead of we, to say, this is mine instead of, this is ours."

When Mr. Laing speaks, he is supported by a great number of Canadian people. There are editorials after editorials which support his point of view and say, quoting an editorial in the Ottawa Journal;

> "Indians should pull up their socks. They should learn to compete."

Although it may be tempting to heap blame on Mr. Laing I believe that he reflects a genuine Canadian view point. And although the Indian Affairs Branch could be criticized it is the oldest branch of civil service on this continent going back to the time of Sir William Johnson, and it operates within your Canadian government. One could blame the Indian Act but the vast majority of the policies of the branch are based on no legislation whatsoever and you, white citizens of Canada, have delegated to the Indian Affairs Dept. almost complete responsibility for the relationships with Indian people. and if you don't like the way this is handled, you should do something about it. It is assumed that the views of the Branch are your own views, until you let otherwise be known.

I believe that Canadian Society, and the education which you have received is unconciously and very subtley, very racist in its content. It is based on a subtle white supremacy, and with a smugness that only one who knows he is best can have. I am not attempting to over identify with Indian persons nor do I wish to exclude them from any responsibility. However, as the recent album of the Mothers of Invention says, " I don't wish I were black, but there are times I wish I wasn't white." Your own education has been based on these same racist attitudes, and I am going to quote from a number of textbooks that are used today in Canadian schools, that take the view that "white is right." Let me read this first one, coming from a textbook, talking about what happened in the Indian wars in the West of the United States:

> "Big Chief Sitting Bull Goes on the War Path" Sitting Bull was a big chief in the Sioux family. He spend his spare time sitting around hatching up new ways to bother the palefaces. Sitting Bull hated the white men. Most of all he hated the United States soldiers. They were driving the Sioux from their hunting grounds. One day in 1876 Sitting Bull and his warriors painted their faces and went on the war path. General George A. Custer, and a few soldiers were camped on the Little Big Horn River in Montana. The Sioux surrounded them and killed every man. Years later, the government found a way to keep the Indians happy. They even gave Sitting Bull a job. Each one was given land to do with as he wished."

This varies a great deal of course from Sitting Bull's own story, which most people will not read. This is the story that Sitting Bull himself told about how Custer and 225 men where killed:

> "Our interests where in peace. I never made war with the United States Government. I never stood in the white man's country. I never made the white man's heart bleed. The white man came on my land and followed me. We did not know Custer. I do not want to kill any men I do not like that kind of work I only defended my camp and when we had killed enough that was all that was necessary."

Now, the tens of thousands of school children who will read that first quotation from the textbook will have this same kind of attitude reinforced grade after grade. As adults and citizens, they will become involved in Indian matters. They will have personal relationships with Indians perhaps. Who knows, one of those students may become Minister of Indian Affairs. And the possibility that Indians have anything to offer to this obviously superior culture of the white man never arises. Some of the children who will read that textbook in the provincial schools will be Indian. They too will come to accept the idea that Sitting Bull hated white men and that the government keeps Indians happy, although knowing that somehow in their experience the view does not seem to be appropriate. And, of course, some of those children will become teachers and historians who will be unable to contemplate the thought, that their own views are those of white racial supremacy.

Indians have been the most passive ethnic group in accepting the jibes and biases and unflattering portrayals. Only recently has the General Electric Company been the target of Indian protest against the use of the phrase, "wild Indian" in their advertisements. Indians have forced Pontiac dealers to remove from their windows a cartoon of big nosed Indians advertising, "heap big bargains." The Pillsbury drink, "Injun Orange" has now becomethe "Jolly Oly Orange", and Sear Robuck has agreed to withdraw from sale the very popular Nutty Mad Indian toy. Perhaps attention should also be drawn to the textbooks which spawn such notions. Here is poetry from another Canadian textbook:

> Who calls, the Redman poor and sick,
> he calls.
> Who comes, the white man rich and strong,
> he comes.
> Who watches to see that pity reigns,
> God watches.

If we look at some of the ideas that are in textbooks there were enough of them in going through almost fifty that we could categorize them very easily. There is the idea that the Indian is not now part of our society Notice the use of the pronouns:

> "They fought more ferociously than any other Indians that we encountered in our westward movement."

Or take the idea perhaps that, even if there were atrocities, it all went for a good cause:

> "In addition to the sword and the cross, the Spaniards brought to America many plants in return for the gold they took. Many things were accomplished to which the Spaniards might point with pride."

Or this one:

> "The reservation system has fallen far short of the ideal, but at least it was a better solution than extermination would have been."

Or take the idea that Indians are not persons:

> "She, (referring to Narcissa Whitman) was the first woman to live in the Oregon Country."

I am sure that the Indian women who lived there for many generations and centuries before Narcissa Whitman would be very surprised to read that. In fact, this was in the Indian Act until fairly recently:

> "a person is defined legally as an individual other than an Indian."

and in fact, there is still one section of the Indian Act of which this has not been taken out, where it refers to: "a person or an Indian."

I do not want to go against the very fine hospitality that I have had at this teach-in and from your university, but when we go through the beautiful hall of the clans in your library, to see the founding families of Nova Scotia, and see the clan MacIntosh and the clan MacDonnell, I don't see any notation there for the other founding families from the clan Bear, the clan Fox or the clan Muskrat. They too have been excluded.
There are the ideas expressed in textbooks, that Indians are basically inferior, and not very bright:

> "By reason of this historical background, the Indian was wholly unfit to cope with a more civilized and intelligent white man."

Or this one:

> "The white man from Europe brought with him knowledge and skill far greater than that of the wisest Indian."

And this one:

> "Indians were doomed by the coming of the white man. The number of Indians was small because they didn't know how to develop America's natural resources, that is the soil, the minerals, the water power and the other natural riches of the land."

How many children will read the Indian point of view which has been written by Allanis Obomswain so beautifully:

> "When the last tree is cut, and the last fish caught, and the last river polluted, and when to breath the air is sickening, you will realized too late that wealth is not in bank accounts, and that you cannot eat money."

There is the idea that is expressed often in text books, that the white man was in the right, and that the Indians were savages opposing progress:

> "Such leaders as Chiefs' Little Crow, Red Cloud and Rain-in-the-Face of the Sioux

It's a good thing there wasn't anybody around

to help the Pilgrims

Published by Dexter Press, West Nyack, New York.

THEY landed in a forbidding wilderness. No Federal Housing, so they went to work and built their own. No Free Stamp Program, so they raised what food they ate, and when they didn't raise enough, went without.

No Free Schools, so mothers taught their children. No Recreational Programs — they were too busy working. No anti-draft riots — everyone was expected to share in the protection of his country. No Social Security — no security at all, except what each provided for himself.

But there *were* compensations. No rioters demanding something for nothing. No unwashed "students" telling their mothers what to teach. No wasteful bureaucrats paying themselves out of the workers' production.

Nothing, really, for the Pilgrims but hard work and a lot of it.

Did it pay off?

Our standard of living proves it.

New Gradall® G-800 offers Gradall versatility plus ability to dig 23 feet straight down.

WARNER & SWASEY
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PRODUCTIVITY EQUIPMENT & SYSTEMS

Newsweek

December 22, 1969

YOU CAN PRODUCE IT BETTER, FASTER, FOR LESS WITH WARNER & SWASEY MACHINE TOOLS, TEXTILE MACHINERY, CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT

INDIANS

. . . Wild, whooping, hard-riding, painted men, falling upon peaceful settlements. Wreaking havoc among the white men. Scalping, razing, burning a trail across the West that will never be forgotten — becoming the most skillful hunters, trappers and fighters known to man. What a far cry from the American Indian of today, who has mastered civilization, even contributed to its culture. No other race of people can claim a more colorful background and stir the imagination of young and old alike. What thoughts are conjured up by gazing upon the stoical faces of these people — here truly is History in the Flesh.

tribes, led attacks of vengence against the whites. They were opposed by American Army units led by such courageous men as General Henry B. Carrington and George A. Custer."

Take the idea that the Indian is indebted to the white man for what we think are our gifts to the Indian people:

"The missionaries regarded the Indians primarily as souls to be saved. They taught the Indians agriculture and handicraft."

Or, the idea that the conditions of the times applied only to Indians. In a textbook which can devote just a few paragraphs to Indian people, it has to use this:

"Along each side of the longhouses, runs a bench four feet off the ground where the inmates sleep in summer, to avoid the innumerable fleas."

Why, when there is such limited space for Indians one must mention that they had fleas, is an interesting story on priorities, especially when the very ship in which Champlain came over to the New World had the same infliction, and this of course is not mentioned.

If it were just a matter of what is said in our textbooks, things would not be as bad as they actually are. What is not said is also important. For where, when an Indian child attends a provincial school, can he see in his textbooks, himself as a person? Where can he see pictures of his heroes other than George Custer. Or where can he read that his ancestors where loving, sincere, capable human beings.

Readers of the texts are receptive to the material presented, because even in early childhood, the stereotype picture of the Indian is present. Turn on your T.V. in the morning and see a million kids in romper rooms and nursery schools running around a circle, waving carboard tomahawks and wearing paper feathers, giving the hand over the mouth war cry in the style of the Indian. Even though anthropologists know fully well the richness of Indian legends, crafts, religion, dances, music, and although Indian arts and crafts are still highly sought after, read this:

"It is probable that the North American tribes in the course of their wanderings, lived for generations in the frozen waste of Alaska. This experience deadened their minds and killed their imagination and initiative."

Even in our magazines: in a recent Life Magazine article in which there was a big space devoted to Indians in describing the Cour des Bois Indians in Idaho, it referred to them as pagans, and yet in the same article it described Walter Rostow, the special adviser to the President in the War of Viet Nam, as saying that his efforts in the war where, "God's work," and I have trouble in knowing who is pagan.

While one can perhaps excuse the ethnocentric attitudes of the early people who came over, especially some of the missionaries, it becomes very difficult to defend the way in which the textbooks portray the work of the missionaries. We know perhaps, of some of the missionaries who were tortured, but we somehow or another, in thinking of how dirty the Indians were to have done this, fail to recall, that almost a decade before Columbus came to this country, that Joan of Arc, was burnt at the stake! I wonder where the custom came from? There is this quote from a textbook:

"How for instance, could the missionaries express the idea of a loving father, to natives whose conception of the supernatural was that of cruel and evil spiritis."

I can perhaps understand some of the difficulties when I can recall some of my own religious upbringing on hell, purgatory and the supernatural.

In most texts, the Indian of today is non-existent. Somehow with the signing of the treaties, the Indian just kind of disappeared from the history text. The suggestion is made at least that the better Indians have disappeared:

"After the laws were passed, the condition of the Indian improved somewhat. Thousands of Indians continued to live in squalor on their reservations, but other thousands took their places as citizens."

Of equal importance, is the glossing over of the complexity of the building of America and the part that the Indian had to play in it. The American Indian, Canadian, however way you want to look at it, that way of life has stood for centuries as a deadly challenge to European ideals of authority submissive obedience in family life, in school, at work and employment. The habit of sharing food with needy neighbours, the concept of homesteading the fun of athletics, all of the stuff in the Boy Scouts. Love of out of doors, taking vacations, not to mention the contributions of foods, potatoes and all those kinds of things. There has not been a single medicinal plant discovered by white people that Indians did not know of at the time 1492. There is a distinct possibility in fact, that you white Canadians, are far more Indian in your way of life than you are European.

A former Commissioner of Indian Affairs in the United States made this quotation, referring to Indians;

"They had what the world has lost, and they have it now. What the world has lost, it must have again lest it die. It is the ancient lost reverence for human personality, joined with the ancient reverence and passion for the earth and its web of life."

So, since the clamour of today is for the Indian to join Canada's mainstream and become a part of the twentieth century, to get modern, to become civilized, to understand technology, the question arises. Is the pattern of expression that we have in our textbooks, what the Indian can expect when he comes into the Canadian mainstream? The importance is more than that of just simple humanity! Carter G. Woodson, who was very active in the Association for the Study of Negro life in history said, referring to any minority group:

"If you can control a man's thinking, you do not have to worry about his actions. When you determine what a man shall think, you do not have to worry about what he will do. If you make a man feel he is inferior, you do not have to compel him to accept an inferior status for he will seek it himself. If you make a man think he is justly an outcast, you do not have to order him to the back door. He will go there without being told, and if there is no back door, his very nature will demand one."

In a play that has just closed on the West Coast called "The Ecstacy of Rita Joe", there is a catalogue given by the author, George Ryga, of our usual relationships with Indian people, and just a few lines from this are very revealing. I am sure you will recognize some of them. In quoting Mr. Homer, who is very active in the Indian Friendship Centre says, explaining to Rita Joe how grateful she should be to him:

"When your mother died, you were at one of our residential schools and we gave you a bus ticket so you could attend her funeral. You remember, don't you Rita?"

Or the magistrate, who says:

"Our society has rules and you must follow them."

When Rita's priest says that unless Rita behaves she won't go to heaven, Rita asks:

"Do they have rules there too?"

Or the teacher in responding to Rita when she tells how afraid and lonely and scared she is, the teacher says:

"That isn't important, now repeat after me these verses from Tennyson or I will have to fail you."

Or the social worker, explaining why he was unable to help Rita:

"She never replied to the form letter the school division sent her."

To which Rita replies:

"Just one letter for a lifetime?"

And when Rita is murdered in a Vancouver alley, her funeral moves to the march of "O Canada", your national song.

We white Canadians pay a very heavy price for our attitudes. These are the attitudes which in the United States can be held responsible for Newark, Harlem, Watts and Detroit. These are the attitudes which allow our society to support a war against another race in Viet Nam. The "Western Frontier" moving still further West, in what may be the last Indian war. These are the attitudes which contribute very heavily to what we call, with typical and unconcious racism, "the Indian problem!" We pay a heavy price for not accepting the contributions which Indian people can still make to what we call "Western civilization". We are blinded to that contribution, and we must learn that the color of civilization is not white!

But, what can we do? What can we do to help? A chief in British Columbia, Dan George, recently made a speech as follows:

"What can you do? You might buy textbooks for our children, that they can have books clean as their white brothers. The other day my wife was sad, because her daughter was washing blankets that were patched and repatched again, and you might buy her blankets, so that she might cover herself and her children. As I walked through the reserve the other day I saw houses, Indian houses, run down, and decrepid. You might buy and build houses for my people. And the white men driving by the reserve and seeing these new houses, would never know that they conceal poverty and frustration. And so a man came with a sore, an ulcer on his leg, and a clean bandage was placed over his ulcer, so nobody knew that an ugly ulcer was there because nobody saw and nobody looked underneath.

You may buy textbooks for our children, you may cover them with blankets, you may hide them behind newly built houses, you may cover their sore with a clean bandage, so that no one may see that sore any longer, and you may go to bed at night with your social conscience free of feelings of guilt, because the evil your forefathers have done is covered only and out of sight. Perhaps there is not much that you can do in a positive way, for we must make our own bodies strong and healthy. But in a negative way, perhaps you can do much.

You can stop discriminating against my people.

You can stop patronizing them in your usual manner.

You can stop feeling awful good within yourself when you make a paltry offering in the form of some money.

You can stop feeling guiltless when you buy us textbooks and blankets and houses.

You can try to understand what cultural adjustments are demanded of our younger people, who are forced to think and to work and to accept the standards of your culture.

You can stop making us look ridiculous in your plays and on your television. Go and see how we have been degraded in your social study books.

You can help our young students be proud of their heritage.

Ah, there is much that you can do, but you won't do it with the God Almighty dollar you brought to this country."

And so, we pay our price. We sit inside our warm homes, secure in the knowledge that we have the answers, the strength and the technology. We deplore the thoughts of violence, whether it's riots in Kenora or black power in Halifax. We continue to allow our government to relate to Indian people as it does, and as long as we do nothing, we really can't afford to think very much about it. And perhaps rubbing your noses in the mess is not the way to go at the problem. I only hope that you will at least think about it!

The editor of a Maritime newspaper, The Woodstock Bugle, New Brunswick, put it very well and very recently:

"But rather than put the responsibility on the Indian peoples of Canada to join us, we should look at the extent of our own civilization.

How civilized are we?

How we relate to the Indians of Canada is a good indication!"

---

the d-CON company, inc., 90 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10016

SUBSIDIARY OF STERLING DRUG INC

EXECUTIVE OFFICES

August 5, 1969

Mr. Jerry Gambill
Antioch-Putney Graduate School of Education
Putney, Vermont 05346

Dear Mr. Gambill:

We are in receipt of your July 21st letter, which we, of course, read with interest.

We are very sorry, Mr. Gambill, that you look at our commercial as you do. We, of course, are simply trying to sell a product which happens to be a very good one - and could think of no better way to show the product name "Warpath" than in the context of a cartoon Indian. After all, the only thing we are using is cartoons. We do not read into the commercial in any way an attempt to perpetrate the myth that the American Indian was a bloodthirsty savage.

As it is currently being used, the commercial has only one purpose, and that is to get the interest and awareness of the consumer so that when they are shopping and in need of a quality insecticide, they will look at our package and possibly make a purchase.

This is the first season that the commercial has run, and we will no doubt make a complete change next year. The reason for making the change, however, is not because we feel we are being unjust to a proud and wonderful people, but rather that our job is to sell and we feel that after a years experience, we have found a better way to sell it.

Thank you very much for taking the time to write us - and I must say, that although I do not agree completely with your paper, I read it with interest.

Cordially,

THE d-CON COMPANY, INC.

Walter C. Camas
Vice President
Director of Marketing

WCC/gm

An NBofC Special Checking Account is enough to make anybody smile.

That's because it costs you just 10¢ a check when you write 5 or more checks a month. No minimum balance required. No problems. And that's enough to make anybody smile! Dig?

NBC

NATIONAL BANK OF COMMERCE

Tundra Times

Owned, controlled and edited by Eskimo, Indian, Aleut Publishing Company, a corporation of Alaska natives.
Address all mail to Box 1287, Fairbanks, Alaska 99701

December 19, 1969

1970 — DEADLINE FOR JUSTICE

Anchorage News Editorial Discusses 2 Per Cent Royalty

(From the Anchorage Daily News)

There's more confusion about the Native's two per cent revenue sharing than any other issue surrounding the land claim's position.

Like many of the other issues, this one has been clouded by charges which exploit racial fears. While it seems complex we think it is vital that all Alaskans understand revenue sharing and weigh what the Alaskan Natives are giving up against what they propose in exchange.

The two per cent royalty revenue sharing applies to the gross value of minerals developed from federal, and after selection state oil and gas leases.

Presently under the Federal Mineral Leasing Act there is a 12½ per cent royalty on minerals (oil and gas) from federally leased public lands. This is split 90-10 in favor of the state. On state lands, the state takes the full 12½ per cent.

Revenue sharing would increase the royalty cost to developers of federal and state mineral leases in Alaska by about 2 per cent. (The state could, of course, reduce its share to maintain royalty revenues at 12½ per cent, but it's doubtful that it would ever do this).

Some argue that this higher royalty will make the cost of Alaska federal and state oil and gas leases non-competitive. It's hard to imagine this happening in view of the exploration and development cost the oil companies are already prepared to incur to tap the state's vast riches.

In any case, the petroleum industry generally is willing, when it scents oil, to lease outer continental shelf and American Indian lands at the higher 16½ per cent figure. And most Alaska lands involve Indian claims.

Other Alaskans are concerned because they see "hundreds of billions of dollars" going into Native pockets.

It may be reasonable to question a 2 per cent grant in perpetuity. But it's doubtful that even Alaska's mineral resources are so great. . . measured by "forever" . . . that they could yield such extravagant sums.

The Natives and their counsel argue that both federal and state lands can legally be covered by an overriding royalty. The legal argument narrows down to one central question—whether or not a compact exists between the United States and Alaska. The Natives say there isn't a compact at all.

A compact is a contract or an agreement between a state and and the federal government. Like any other type of contract, it requires some acknowledgement by the parties, plus an offer and acceptance.

And because compacts frequently govern the allocation of power in our federal system, they are not treated lightly or entered into without thought, deliberation and clear intent. After all compacts can only be altered by both parties.

The only place a compact is mentioned in the Statehood Act is Section 4, the "disclaimer" section. That's the provision under which the state disclaims any rights and title to lands which may be subject to Native claims.

For the Mineral Leasing Act to enjoy compact status, it must be demonstrated that substantive provisions in the state constitution are matched by the Statehood Act (offer and acceptance.)

For openers, it's hard to believe that Congress would ever have elevated the Mineral Leasing Act to such status, for this would have required the State of Alaska to consent to any future Congressional amendment to the Mineral Leasing Act.

All the Statehood Act provides with respect to incorporation of the Mineral Leasing Act into Alaska's constitution is that the three provisions Alaskans voted on before statehood were adopted, then the Statehood Act was amended accordingly. These were: should Alaska immediately become a state; should the state's boundaries be approved, should the Act's provisions reserving powers to the United States and prescribing the terms of land grants to Alaska be consented to by the State.

The absence of any substantive corresponding provision to the Mineral Leasing Act in the state constitution led the Natives, and now Secretary Hickel's Department of the Interior, to say that the Act can be amended.

The Natives say that Congress made no such ironclad agreement in the Statehood Act. By virtue of the disclaimer, the Natives argue, Congress retained jurisdiction over extinguishing, however they please, the Natives' aboriginal title. Therefore, the Natives may ask for 2 per cent or whatever they want in a settlement.

CONFERRING—Rep. Willie Hensley, left, is talking with Byron Mallott, right, during land claims hearings in Washington, D.C. Hensley is the executive director of the AFN. Mallott is director of RurALCAP.

Unjustified Criticism

Chief Counsel for the AFN in Washington is Justice Arthur Goldberg. This distinguished American is serving the Native cause without fee.

His presence has been a great boost to Native efforts to secure a just and equitable land claims settlement. He and his partner former Attorney General Ramsey Clark and former Senator Thomas Kuchel, their associates, and all our regional attorneys have made a difference.

Some Alaskans have resented the fact that the Native cause can command such distinguished and high powered representation. They try to turn other Alaskans against us by calling our attorneys "Easterners" or "Outsiders" and they repeatedly refer to the AFN legislative proposal as "The Goldberg Bill."

We think they're trying to hide one form of racism behind another.

Most recently the lawyers of Anchorage held a Christmas party. The invitations were signed by an Anchorage lawyer, presumably as a joke, as "Attorney for the Devil, of counsel, Satan, and Goldberg."

Justice Goldberg has only one client in Alaska, the Native peoples. If the lawyers think he is counsel for the devil then what are the Natives?

The attorneys of Anchorage owe the Native People and Justice Goldberg an explanation and an apology.

Hensley

"America will lose an opportunity to right old wrongs, and for once, to allow the first American a fair deal, if there is no settlement or a poor settlement of the native land claims issue," according to William L. Hensley.

Such were the words heard by the Eskimos from all over the world as one of Alaska's Eskimos and state legislators spoke at a conference held in Paris, France Nov. 24-27.

"It may bring defeatism to the people and will prevent us from becoming an integral part of Alaska's social and economic development.

History of Movement

(From the Federal Field Committee Report, Alaska Natives and the Land.)

The only organizations of Alaska Natives for nearly fifty years were the Alaska Native Brotherhood and Sisterhood. Their membership was made up of Indians of southeastern Alaska. Then in 1961, Inupiat Paitot, made up of northern Eskimos, was formed; and in 1962 the Tanana Chiefs' Council was organized.

Explaining the formation of these new groups in the early 1960's, Tundra Times editor Howard Rock said, "we had begun to realize that we, as Native people of Alaska, had many problems. We also found that by speaking as a group, we were heard. As a result, some good things began to come our way. Having tasted the fruits of our labors, we are encouraged to try to perpetuate the existence of these organizations."

The real growth in the number of Native associations came in 1965 and 1966, with most of the stimulus coming from the issue of land claims and protests. There are now 21 regional or community organizations and their statewide association, the Alaska Federation of Natives.

The regional groups are the Arctic Slope Native Association, Copper River Indian Association, Chugach Native Association, Association of Village Council Presidents, Tanana Chiefs' Council, Alaska Native Brotherhood, Tlingit-Haida Central Council, Kodiak Area Native Association, Northwest Alaska Native Association, Arctic Native Brotherhood, Alaska Peninsula Native Association, Bristol Bay Native Association, Aleut League, and Lower Kenai Native Association.

The community organizations are: Cook Inlet Native Association, Kuskokwim Valley Native Association, Native Village of Eklutna, Fairbanks Native Association, Five Chiefs of Yakutat, Kenaitze Indian Association, and Native Village of Tyonek.

In October of 1966, the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN) was organized. The reasons for its organization are described in the preamble:

We, the Native People of Alaska, in order to secure to ourselves and our descendants the rights and benefits to which we are entitled under the laws of the United States, and the State of Alaska; to enlighten the public toward a better understanding of the Native people; to preserve the Native cultural values; to seek an equitable adjustment of Native affairs and Native claims; to seek, to secure, and to preserve our rights under existing laws of the United States; to promote the common welfare of the Natives of Alaska and to foster the continued loyalty and allegiance of the Natives of Alaska to the flag of the United States and the State of Alaska, do establish this organization. . .

Objectives of the AFN named in its constitution and bylaws are: "to promote pride on the part of the Natives of Alaska in their heritage and traditions; to preserve the customs, folklore, and art of the Native races; to promote the physical, economic, and social well-being of the Natives of Alaska; to discourage and overcome racial prejudice and the inequities which such prejudice creates; and to promote good environment, by reminding those who govern and those who are governed of their joint and mutual responsibilities."

Membership in the AFN consists of all persons of Eskimo, Indian, or Aleut blood extraction, duly enrolled in the tribal rolls of any village or area-wide association of the State of Alaska, or until such tribal rolls are established, enrolled provisionally on the temporary tribal rolls of the village or area-wide association.

Representation in the AFN's annual meeting is based upon the number of enrolled active members in such area-wide associations, or if the village is not in an association, the number of "enrolled active members" in the village. Each association and each village not in an association has one delegate and an additional delegate for each 100 active enrolled members beyond 50.

At annual meetings held in October, delegates elect officers and directors and transact other business. The six officers (president, first and second vice presidents, secretary, treasurer, and sergeant at arms) are elected for two-year terms and serve as voting members of the Board of directors. Other members of the board, also elected for two-year terms, are the elected single representatives of each area-wide association and three at-large members elected by villages not in associations. Governing authority over the AFN between annual meetings is vested in the Board of Directors.

Emil Notti of Anchorage has been president of the AFN since June of 1967. Upon his departure in October of this year for Washington, D.C. to press for land claims legislative action, he named Willie Hensley, a state representative from Kotzebue, as executive director of the organization. In addition to directing land claims efforts and general AFN activities, Hensley supervises the administration of programs based upon grants from the U.S. Department of Labor, the Economic Development Administration, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and private foundations. Fifteen persons are employed full time in the Anchorage office or in positions in the field.

The future of Native organizations was the subject of a forecast made by the Anchorage Daily News in late 1967. "It appears likely," the newspaper said, "that the Native organizations will outlive the land claims battle and extend their influence into other social and economic areas affecting the Alaska Native." Such extension of activities has already occured, and continuation of Native organizations beyond the land claims battle seems assured.

Land Claims at a Glance

The Issue

The Alaska Native seeks vindication of his moral and legal rights to aboriginal title to 340 million acres. He is asking Congress and Alaska for long-deferred justice at a time when the state is enjoying an unprecedented economic boom.

The Question

Will Congress recognize the Natives' moral and legal rights and, through a generous settlement of the Natives' claim, give the First Alaskans a chance to share as Americans in the progress of our state and nation?

The Moral Case

Once the Natives had a rich and rewarding culture, and exercised dominion over most of Alaska.

The situation today:

Native Life Expectancy — 34.3 years
Native Infant Mortality — 2½ times white Alaskans
Unemployment — 50 percent of labor force,
(80 - 100 percent in many villages).
Per capita Income — one-fourth of white Alaskans
Prices — Highest in Alaska
Welfare — 80 percent of ADC
Educational Opportunities — Drastically Limited
Hopelessness and Despair — Widespread
Suicide Rate — High

Why? The Federal Field Committee report says:

The white man brought disease, alien ideas, invaded and destroyed the traditional hunting and fishing grounds, subjected Native families to unbelievable stress.

Because it was believed it was in the "best interests" of the Natives, efforts were made to deny him his culture, extinguish his language, and sever him from his past. Why? In the confident assumption that the Native was inferior.

What has happened to the Native could have happened to anyone. He has problems not because he is a Native, but because he is human.

The Legal Case

Land used and occupied by Natives since time immemorial creates aboriginal title.

The prestigious Federal Field Committee says that "Alaska Natives have a substantial claim upon all the lands of Alaska by virtue of their aboriginal occupancy . . . (Emphasis in original)." That is the heart of the Natives claim.

Historically Congress has proctected and preserved aboriginal title. But Congress can also extinguish title.

But when aboriginal title is extinguished, compensation is usually offered by Congress. Under present case law, Natives have no direct 5th Amendment property rights protected against government extinguishment.

However, against third parties aboriginal title is still good unless extinguished by Congress. And Native rights are judicially enforceable against third parties.

Land valued at extinguishment for compensation purposes is the land's present fair market value. Therefore, Native land claims are valued at today's land worth.

The argument between the state and the Natives is whether the state is a third party, or whether the 1959 Statehood Act embracing a selection promise to the state of 103 million acres extinguished title.

The land freeze case now before the ninth Circuit Court of Appeals deals with these points.

	Natives	State	Interior Department	Field Committee
Land:	40 MILLION ACRES 20 per cent of population ask for 10 per cent of the land to which they hold the aboriginal title	UNSPECIFIED A minimum of one township for each recognized Native village. Not to exceed two townships outside of Southeast Alaska.	12 MILLION ACRES Two townships for most villages.	5 MILLION ACRES A township — 23,040 acres per village.
Cash:	$500 MILLION with interest for 10 years ($1.50 an acre for renunciation of lands claimed).	$500 MILLION payable over a 20-year period.	$500 MILLION without interest over 20 years ($1.00 an acre for renunciation of lands claimed).	$100 MILLION TO $1 BILLION 10-year revenue sharing; a gamble on oil royalties against a sure floor.
Royalty:	2 per cent on federal lands and on state selected land	Violates Statehood Act on both federal and state selected lands	O.K. on federal lands but can't be done on state selected lands.	O.K. on federal lands; silent on state lands.

But Will the Congress Act?

Natives have used and occupied much of the lands of Alaska since time immemorial. This creates what's known as aboriginal title.

Aboriginal title exists even if the land claimed is not the site of a permanent camp, is only used on a seasonal basis for subsistence, is used for traveling to subsistence, is claimed jointly with another Native group, or by a village, or supports a small Native population. Moreover even if there is no productive purpose to the land if it lies within a larger area controlled by Natives, then it too, is held under aboriginal title.

And with aboriginal title goes all surface, mineral and water rights.

HISTORICALLY, IT HAS been the policy of Congress and the courts to respect and protect the Indians' use and occupancy of the land over which exercises dominion. On the other hand it has also been recognized that Congress has the right to extinguish aboriginal title.

THE NATIVES, however, are not seeking at this time to assert their rights to aboriginal title against the United States.

The Natives argue that a legislative settlement is in everyone's interest, since their aboriginal rights are still good against the state and can block its efforts to select public lands. (Remember, unextinguished aboriginal rights are protected against third parties.)

The Natives claim much of the state under aboriginal title. The prestigious Federal Field Committee for Development Planning in Alaska, in its authoritative study, Alaska Natives and the Land, has said that "the aboriginal Alaska Native completely used the biological resources of the land, interior and contiguous water in general balance with their sustained human carrying capacity. . ."

And in the key sentence in its study of Native land rights, the Federal Field Committee concluded that "Alaska Natives have a substantial claim upon all the lands of Alaska by virtue of their aboriginal occupancy . . ." (Emphasis in original.)

This finally, gets around to the second aspect of the claims—the land freeze. There are procedural issues in the land freeze case, any one of which could support a decision. But the heart of the matter is land rights.

That case asks: Did Congress in the Statehood Act give the State the power to extinguish aboriginal title subject to subsequent legislation? Or is the State a third party against which the Native land rights are good in every respect?

ALL THIS GOES back to two provisions in the Statehood Act. In one the state disclaims all right and title to land which may be held by the Natives. In another the state is allowed to select lands for itself.

The question is whether Congress knew the state would select lands claimed by the Natives and thereby meant for the state to extinguish title, or whether Congress meant that any state selection of Native land would not extinguish title until Congress got around to doing so.

November 30, 1969
ANCHORAGE DAILY NEWS

Hank Adams Prepares Suit Against Lawmen

A civil action is being filed in federal district court in Tacoma against Thurston County law enforcement officers for the shooting a year ago in Yelm of an Indian youth.

The suit names as defendants Sheriff Clarence Van Allen and Deputy William McCluskey, former deputy William Triggs, and Daniel Rutledge, a reserve deputy.

Filing the suit for 16-year-old Jamie Sanchez, an Indian of Tenino, is Philip Burton, Seattle attorney.

Sanchez was shot in the thigh on February 23, 1969, in a confrontation with Deputy McCluskey in the course of an investigation for shoplifting in Yelm.

McCluskey said later that Sanchez threatened him with a knife. The youth was convicted on the shoplifting charge before visiting Judge Dorwin Cunningham, who dismissed the knife assault case.

Complainant in the suit is Henry (Hank) Adams, Franks' Landing Indian activist who Monday was granted an order by superior court Judge Hewitt Henry naming him guardian for Sanchez.

Adams said he had asked to be appointed the guardian to prevent harassment of his family.

Adams, who has had several arrests for his fish-in activities on behalf of the Indians at Franks' Landing, in the past several years, said he himself had been named in an arrest warrant made out Monday. The warrant has been obtained by a Game Department enforcement officer.

Adams claimed the only reason for the warrant was the suit he and Burton are bringing in Sanchez' behalf.

Adams said deputies with a warrant for his arrest appeared at Franks' Landing after he had been in the Courthouse a large part of the day and had not been notified of any warrant against him.

Sheriff's deputies said Tuesday morning the district court warrant, which accuses Adams of illegal fishing for steelhead on February 7, had not yet been served. They said they could not locate Adams yesterday afternoon to hand him the warrant. Another Indian activist, Valerie Bridges, 19, Franks' Landing, was arrested Sunday on a charge of obstructing an officer during a skirmish that occurred along the Nisqually. She was released from jail after posting $250 bail.

The suit Adams and Sanchez are bringing against the sheriff and his deputies claims that they unlawfully searched the youth and "willfully, unlawfully and tortuously wound(ed) the said minor by shooting him with a service revolver, inflicting upon him great bodily and mental pain and agony and resulting physical disability."

The case was investigated by the U.S. Civil Rights Commission. The commission's report recommends that the U.S. Justice Department should conduct a thorough investigation of the shooting.

Within four hours after Hank Adams filed his suit, a warrant was issued for his arrest. Hank Adams is now out on bail

From left—JOHN SILVA, FRANK ALLEN and MRS. ESTHER ROSS
With documents concerning their claims against the government

The Seattle Times Wednesday, January 21, 1970

DON DUNCAN:

- *Indian Lament*
- *Dead Disturbed*

The Stillaguamish Indians of Snohomish County got left behind the longhouse when Uncle Sam passed out the reservations under the Point Elliott Treaty of 1855.

They were told they could hang onto what lands they had, the length of the Stillaguamish River. But they were not advised how they could cope with white men who either pushed them off their land or plied their red brothers with fire water and got them to sign deeds they couldn't even read.

Today, dwindled to about 74 active tribal-council members from about 2,000 at the time of the treaty, they would be lucky to put together enough land to pasture a few horses.

Their tribal burial grounds are either overgrown weed patches on some white man's land, or they have been desecrated by bulldozers and the bones displayed in homes as "genuine Indian artifacts."

Mrs. Esther Ross, tribal historian, packed a box of those "homeless" bones to Olympia for a conference with Gov. Dan Evans.

"To disturb the graves of our ancestors bothers us deeply," Mrs. Ross said.

The remains of Stillaguamish Indians now go "wherever the welfare people can find a cemetery where they are welcome," Frank Allen, Mrs. Ross' son, added.

Mrs. Ross, Allen, John Silva and Gus Smith are the most active leaders of the tribal council. Silva is chairman. Smith is a rarity, a full-blood Stillaguamish. All three men are "chiefs" in the complex Indian hierarchy.

BACK IN 1926, Congress set up a Court of Claims for Indians ousted from their land by white man's muscle or guile. The final offer — take or leave it — was presented to the tribal council last month. It amounted to $48,570. No land. No burial grounds. Split it maybe 100 ways and see how much hamburger it will buy.

Mrs. Ross says the Stillaguamish have no intention of holding up a money-strapped federal government. But she does offer some impressive facts from her historical records.

Long ago, when the salmon were thick in the Stillaguamish, the Stoluck-wha-nish Indians had villages from the mouth of the river, near Stanwood, far up into the valley past White Horse Mountain.

Many were shoved from their land. In one documented instance, a rancher ordered the Indians to cut down from the trees of "his" property burial canoes filled with Indian remains. They disturbed his esthetic senses.

A tribal member sold a five-acre tract at Trafton, containing a burial ground, for about $1,300. When the tribal council several years ago asked how much it would cost to buy back the land, it was informed that the owner wanted $75,000. The council asked about the cemetery and was told it could remove the bodies "at your expense."

The Indians the white man didn't push from his villages were eradicated by a much simpler, though unintentional, method. They died by the scores in the 1880s of smallpox contracted from infected Army blankets given to them as welfare.

It is easy to say that the Indians' ignorance and susceptibility to disease were not the white man's fault. But if the troubles in our nation the past few years have taught us nothing else, they have made clear that past wrongs must be dealt with by the living.

WHAT the Stillaguamish want is the return of their land and cemeteries, and some financial assistance to get them on their feet.

Filipino Forum
524 So. King St.
Seattle, Wa. 98104

Stillaguamish Cemetary Stomp

Meadow larks have a trilling, warbling song that carries far over open grass, through patches of evergreen and alder . . . even over concrete roadways and into town.

But neon signs signify prosperity, good business and booming industry.

So, mister farmer, tear up that Stillaguamish sod. Let tractor's wheels grind out the Indians' past. Make way for the big real estate boom.

If bones show, you may be lucky. Perhaps an artifact or two will appear — arrowheads, figurines, beads — nice conversation pieces. How about a skull for your mantel, too!

No matter if an ancient people left these. A great people happened to get in the way of "progress." Take out those bones!

It's too bad brave descendants are poor . . . but other people can pay and buy and sell.

You say some Stillaguamish Indian is sad. You say he's hurt, concerned about ancestral burial grounds. It's a free country. Let him buy some of his ancestor's land for a cemetery.

Kind of tough, Indian, when your tribe never officially surrendered. You should have signed that treaty. Then and only then could you have a legal land base. If your Stillaguamish ancestors had made peace, you'd have a nice reservation nowadays (somewhere in the desert, perhaps.)

What's all this fuss over some old Indian burial sites. Try Washelli or Forest Lawn!

—Marty Sibonga

Briefly, their demands are these:

The return of 29 burial grounds, containing five acres each—the cost to be borne by the state or the federal government.

A tribal allotment in the Stillaguamish area of no less than 1,000 acres, and up to 5,000 acres, from state or federal land.

An appropriation of $50,000 (and other funds up to $100,000) as a "loan" for community development and a start on Indian-owned business enterprises.

Per capita payments of $500 each to members of the tribe.

Designation of the tribe as a "public agency," deserving of funding and programs similar to those set up for other minorities and hard-pressed individuals.

State designation of January 22 as Treaty Day for all Indians of the state—to be observed as a legal holiday.

And finally, a suggestion that two mothballed vessels in California, be converted to fishing boats for the exclusive use of all Northwest Indian tribes, with the federal government building ice houses for storing the catch.

IF THAT SOUNDS like a lot, Indians like Mrs. Ross, Silva, Smith and Allen don't think so. They point to the "millions of dollars" spent on other minority groups, and they repeatedly make the point, "we were here first."

"White men either took our land or paid off ignorant old Indians with a horse or a bottle of whiskey," Mrs. Ross says with intense feeling.

Many of the old cemeteries Mrs. Ross has found contain brass plaques and ornate headstones, topped by Bibles carved in stone. The Veterans of Foreign Wars and several Boy Scout troops in Snohomish County have offered to clean up and maintain the cemeteries when they are found.

"It is bad luck to remove Indian bodies from their graves," Allen said, adding with a smile, "Maybe that is why you people are having so much trouble."

"Who speaks for us?" the aged Silva asks.

It is a good question.

PUNCH

Edited by William Davis

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PUNCH is England's leading humour magasine.

UNDER THE SPREADING BIGOTRY

Prejudice : **THE RED INDIAN**

RED POWER

William Davis

THERE'S an electric toothbrush factory at the Little Big Horn. To many Americans it seems the perfect symbol of the Great White Father's triumph over the mean savage. There are others. Apache girls wear mini-skirts and adore the twist. The descendants of Spotted Tail and Red Cloud are studying data-processing machines and office automation. Loudspeakers blare the traditional war dances from modulated tapes for the benefit of tourists. The modern Indian sends cables instead of smoke signals, uses academic jargon instead of war-cries, and eats hot-dogs instead of venison. He prefers Bermuda shorts to war bonnets, motels to tepees, ballpoint pens to arrows, and claxons to tribal chants. The principal chief of the Cherokees is a vice-president of Phillips Petroleum, and countless fellow-warriors are busy hunting lucrative desk jobs in the cement prairies.

All this is fact. Washington says it adds up to the greatest tribute to integration since Sitting Bull laid down the tools of his trade and joined the touring Wild West Show of Buffalo Bill. It's also a fact, however, that many of the half-million or so non-Hollywood Indians still living in the Land of the Free are unhappy. It's not just that they are tired of watching themselves dying on the *Late, Late Show*. It's not even that they can't forget what Custer and his lot tried to do to their Grandpaws. Their real point is that integration is all wrong. They don't want to drink martinis. They don't want equality. They want to run their own lives in their own way, to build a sovereign and independent state. Their heroes are the separatists of Quebec, rather than the successors of Martin Luther King. They call themselves Red Muslims, and they talk hopefully about a concept which, so far, has failed to make world headlines. *Red* Power.

Ironically, this puzzles and annoys many Negro leaders. They resent the Redskin's boast that he is the first American, and that he has a superior way of life. They resent, too, his attempt to jump on to what has up to now been an all-black bandwagon. Red Power, indeed. Next thing you know there'll be a revolution in Chinatown.

The Indians counter, with some justification, that they have far more right to complain than the black man. It was an Indian chief, not a cotton pickin' slave, who was conned into selling Manhattan for a string of beads. It was the red man, not the black man, who was scalped by Custer's troopers, and whose descendants live in barren reservations where, even now, unemployment ranges from 40 to 80 per cent, and where the death rate is higher than anywhere else in the USA. Once, the Redskin owned the whole country. Today he is left with less than 3 per cent of his former territory, and most of that is severely eroded. And yet, it is the plight of the negro which gets all the attention. The black man is pitied and courted. All over the world, people try to show that they're not prejudiced against him. His own prejudices are forgiven. Politicians, aware of his voting strength, promise him the earth and the moon. Hollywood has even got around to making films which star black cowboys. The Redskin, on the other hand, is an international joke. The only good one is a wooden one, ha, ha. If they think of him at all, people look on him as a Hollywood extra, a living museum piece. Even the word "Red" has been swiped by the Commies. Can you blame the Apaches, the Navajos, the Sioux, the Mohawks, and the Cherokees for getting hot under their starched collars?

The first Red Power demo, in February 1964, took the form of a fish-in. Indians from dozens of tribes got together and fished off the reservations without a licence. Sitting Bull, in his prime, would have thought it pretty tame stuff, but the new breed proudly noted that it was the first real tribal action since Custer was cut down to size eighty-six years earlier. It encouraged Indian leaders to call a summit conference, and to proclaim "the dawn of a new day." Tribal officials who urged caution were contemptuously dismissed as "Uncle Tomahawks."

Stan Steiner, whose excellent book *The New Indians* is the first full-scale report on Red Power, quotes a youthful leader called Clyde Warrior as saying that "there will be an uprising that will make Kenyatta's Mau-Mau movement look like a Sunday-school picnic." The mind boggles at the vision of City Indians discarding their sober business suits in favour of buckskins, beads, and feathers, and joining their brothers on the scrawny grasslands in the great struggle. This time, presumably, it would be tanks instead of horses, machine guns instead of ancient rifles, and ballistic missiles instead of arrows. The cry of the wrathful turkey, conveyed to Britain by courtesy of *Panorama*, would take on an entirely different meaning. And just think what might happen if the Apaches had The Bomb!

Fortunately it looks as if Richard Nixon need not rush to put his wagons in a circle and make John Wayne Secretary of State for Defence. Clyde Warrior's aggressive views do not appear to be shared by many other Reds. "We do not threaten anyone," says an influential young Sioux with the unlikely sounding name of Vine Deloria Junior. "We do not wish power over anyone. Red Power means we want power over our own lives." Steiner quotes another Sioux as saying that "We are fighting for ideological survival. Our ideas will overcome your ideas. We are going to cut the country's whole value system to shreds." His voice, it seems, is the voice of a new generation of university educated Indians. The Apaches, Cherokees and Navajos have turned into desk warriors. They speak in swinging, university-toned English, and they have acquired the White man's forked tongue. They know how the mechanics of American Government and institutions work, and they intend to make good use of their knowledge. "We could get together," says Junior, "and set up rural political machines. We could nominate an Indian slate on the ticket of either the Democratic or Republican party. It doesn't matter which. We could win control of the administrative structure of the whole country." Indians are already seated in a number of Western state legislatures, and Junior reckons they could have the decisive vote in a large number of states—providing the sixty or so tribes agreed to stand together.

He and other "academic aborigines" also believe that, in their fight to convert America to the Indian way of life, they have many useful allies among restless white students and among the Beautiful People. The Beautiful People, they point out, think and dress like redskins. Why shouldn't they fight with them?

Here in Britain we can afford to stand back and smile. Enoch Powell needn't lose sleep over the redskins. But ask yourself honestly. Could you bear to see an Indian *win*? Would you sell your house to one?

PUNCH, September 10 1969

"How!" *"Why!"*

Wider Still And Wider

CONGRATULATIONS to the great Rhodesian legislature for what it calls its "fair and just plan" to take more land away from the black man so that each white has twenty times as much of the country as his black equivalent. Sorry, opposite number. This has been done, Minister of Lands Philip van Heerden says, because the way in which the black uses his land is less efficient than the way in which the white uses his. Hardly surprising, since not only do the whites have the best land to start with, they also control ninety-five per cent of the capital used to develop it. And next year, since it will have had even less land per capita to scratch a living from, the black population will be shown to be even more inefficient and unfit, won't it? So the only solution will be to take even more land away from them and give it to the wonderful, efficient whites, right? Of course, it's only fair and just, isn't it? I mean, as the black gets less and less say in the running of his country, it's only reasonable that he should have less and less country to have a say in the running of. Right?

HUMAN POWER NOW!

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PLAYBOY

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CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS

article

By VINE DELORIA, JR.

an american indian author returns the studied stares of those anthropologists who make him and his fellows impersonal statistics

INTO EACH LIFE, it is said, some rain must fall. Some people have bad horoscopes; others take tips on the stock market. McNamara created the TFX and the Edsel. American politics has George Wallace. But Indians have been cursed above all other people in history. Indians have anthropologists.

Every summer when school is out, a stream of immigrants heads into Indian country. The Oregon Trail was never as heavily populated as Route 66 and Highway 18 in the summertime. From every rock and cranny in the East, *they* emerge, as if responding to some primeval migratory longing, and flock to the reservations. They are the anthropologists—the most prominent members of the scholarly community that infests the land of the free and the homes of the braves. Their origin is a mystery hidden in the historical mists. Indians are certain that all ancient societies of the Near East had anthropologists at one time, because all those societies are now defunct. They are equally certain that Columbus brought anthropologists on his ships when he came to the New World. How else could he have made so many wrong deductions about where he was? While their origins are uncertain, anthropologists can readily be identified on the reservations. Go into any crowd of people. Pick out a tall, gaunt white man wearing Bermuda shorts, a World War Two Army Air Corps flying jacket, an Australian bush hat and tennis shoes and packing a large knapsack incorrectly strapped on his back. He will invariably have a thin, sexy wife with stringy hair, an I.Q. of 191 and a vocabulary in which even the prepositions have 11 syllables. And he usually has a camera, tape recorder, telescope and life jacket all hanging from his elongated frame.

This odd creature comes to Indian reservations to make *observations*. During the winter, these observations will become books by which future anthropologists will be trained, so that they can come out to reservations years from now and verify the observations in more books, summaries of which then appear in the scholarly journals and serve as a catalyst to inspire yet other anthropologists to make the great pilgrimage the following summer. And so on.

The summaries, meanwhile, are condensed. Some condensations are sent to Government agencies as reports justifying the previous summer's research. Others are sent to foundations, in an effort to finance the following summer's expedition West. The reports are spread through the Government agencies and foundations all winter. The only problem is that no one has time to read them. So $5000-a-year secretaries are assigned to decode them. Since these secretaries cannot comprehend complex theories, they reduce the reports to the best slogans possible. The slogans become conference themes in the early spring, when the anthropological expeditions are being planned. They then turn into battle cries of opposing groups of anthropologists who chance to meet on the reservations the following summer.

Each summer there is a new battle cry, which inspires new insights into the nature of the "Indian problem." One summer Indians will be greeted with the joyful cry "Indians are bilingual!" The following summer this great truth will be expanded to "Indians are not only bilingual, they are *bicultural*!" Biculturality creates great problems for the opposing anthropological camp. For two summers, they have been bested in sloganeering and their funds are running low. So the opposing school of thought breaks into the clear faster than Gale Sayers. "Indians," the losing anthros cry, "are a *folk* people!" The tide of battle turns and a balance, so dearly sought by Mother Nature, is finally achieved. Thus go the anthropological wars, testing whether this school or that school can long endure. The battlefields, unfortunately, are the lives of Indian people.

The anthro is usually devoted to *pure research*. A 1969 thesis restating a proposition of 1773, complete with footnotes to all material published between 1773 and 1969, is pure research. There are, however, anthropologists who are not clever at collecting footnotes. They depend on their field observations and write long, adventurous narratives in which their personal observations are used to verify their suspicions. Their reports, books and articles are called *applied research*. The difference, then, between pure and applied research is primarily one of footnotes. Pure has many footnotes, applied has few footnotes. Relevancy to subject matter is not discussed in polite company.

Anthropologists came to Indian country only after the tribes had agreed to live on reservations and had given up their warlike ways. Had the tribes been given a choice of fighting the cavalry or the anthropologists, there is little doubt as to who they would have chosen. In a crisis situation, men always attack the biggest threat to their existence. A warrior killed in battle could always go to the happy hunting grounds. But where does an Indian laid low by an anthro go? To the library?

The fundamental thesis of the anthropologist is that people are objects for observation. It then follows that people are considered objects for experimentation, for manipulation and for eventual extinction. The anthropologist thus furnishes the justification for treating Indian people like so many chessmen, available for anyone to play with. The mass production of useless knowledge by anthropologists attempting to capture real Indians in a network of theories has contributed substantially to the invisibility of Indian people today. After all, who can believe in the actual existence of a food-gathering, berrypicking, seminomadic, fire-worshiping, high-plains-and-mountain-dwelling, horse-riding, canoe-toting, bead-using, pottery-making, ribbon-coveting, wickiup-sheltered people who began flourishing when Alfred Frump mentioned them in 1803 in *Our Feathered Friends*?

Not even Indians can see themselves as this type of creature—who, to anthropologists, is the "real" Indian. Indian people begin to feel that they are merely shadows of a mythical super-Indian. Many Indians, in fact, have come to parrot the ideas of anthropologists, because it appears that they know everything about Indian communities. Thus, many ideas that pass for Indian thinking are in reality theories originally advanced by anthropologists and echoed by Indian people in an attempt to communicate the real situation. Many anthros reinforce this sense of inadequacy in order to further influence the Indian people.

Since 1955, there have been a number of workshops conducted in Indian country as a device for training "young Indian leaders." Churches, white Indian-interest groups, colleges and, finally, poverty programs have each gone the workshop route as the most feasible means for introducing new ideas to younger Indians, so as to create leaders. The tragic nature of the workshops is apparent when one examines their history. One core group of anthropologists has institutionalized the workshop and the courses taught in it. Trudging valiantly from workshop to workshop, from state to state, college to college, tribe to tribe, these noble spirits have served as the catalyst for the creation of workshops that are identical in purpose and content and often in the student body itself.

The anthropological message to young Indians has not varied a jot or a tittle in ten years. It is the same message these anthros learned as fuzzy-cheeked graduate students in the post-War years—Indians are a folk people, whites are an urban people and never the twain shall meet. Derived from this basic premise are all the other sterling insights: Indians are between two cultures, Indians are bicultural, Indians have lost their identity and Indians are warriors. These theories, propounded every year with deadening regularity and an overtone of Sinaitic authority, have become a major mental block in the development of young Indian people. For these slogans have come to be excuses for Indian failures. They are crutches by which young Indians have avoided the arduous task of thinking out the implications of the status of Indian people in the modern world.

If there is one single cause that has importance today for Indian people, it is tribalism. Against all odds, Indians have retained title to some 53,000,000 acres of land, worth about three and a half billion dollars. Approximately half of the country's 1,000,000 Indians relate meaningfully to this land, either by living and working on it or by frequently visiting it. If Indians fully recaptured the idea that they are tribes communally in possession of this land, they would realize that they are not truly impoverished. But the creation of modern tribalism has been stifled by a ready acceptance of the Indians-are-a-folk-people premise of the anthropologists. This premise implies a drastic split between folk and urban cultures, in which the folk peoples have two prime characteristics: They dance and they are desperately poor. Creative thought in Indian affairs has not, therefore, come from the younger Indians who have grown up reading and talking to anthropologists. Rather, it has come from the older generation that believes in tribalism—and that the youngsters mistakenly insist has been brainwashed by Government schools.

Because other groups have been spurred on by their younger generations, Indians have come to believe that, through education, a new generation of leaders will arise to solve the pressing contemporary problems. Tribal leaders have been taught to accept this thesis by the scholarly community in its annual invasion of the reservations. Bureau of Indian Affairs educators harp continuously on this theme. Wherever authority raises its head in Indian country, this thesis is its message. The facts prove the opposite, however. Relatively untouched by anthropologists, educators and scholars are the Apache tribes of the Southwest. The Mescalero, San Carlos, White Mountain and Jicarilla Apaches have very few young people in college, compared with other tribes. They have even fewer people in the annual workshop orgy during the summers. If ever there was a distinction between folk and urban, this group of Indians characterizes it.

The Apaches see themselves, however, as neither folk nor urban but *tribal*. There is little sense of a lost identity. Apaches could not care less about the anthropological dilemmas that worry other tribes. Instead, they continue to work on massive plans for development that they themselves have created. Tribal identity is assumed, not defined, by these reservation people. Freedom to choose from a wide variety of paths of progress is a characteristic of the Apaches; they don't worry about what type of Indianism is real. Above all, they cannot be ego-fed by abstract theories and, hence, unwittedly manipulated.

With many young people from other tribes, the situation is quite different. Some young Indians attend workshops over and over again. Folk theories pronounced by authoritative anthropologists become opportunities to escape responsibility. If, by definition, the Indian is hopelessly caught between two cultures, why struggle? Why not blame all one's lack of success on this tremendous gulf between two opposing cultures? Workshops have become, therefore, summer retreats for nonthought rather than strategy sessions for leadership. Therein lies the Indian's sin against the anthropologist. Only those anthropologists who appear to boost Indian ego and expound theories dear to the hearts of workshop Indians are invited to teach at workshops. They become human recordings of social confusion and are played and replayed each summer, to the delight of a people who refuse to move on into the real world.

The workshop anthro is thus a unique creature, partially self-created and partially supported by the refusal of Indian young people to consider their problems in their own context. The normal process of maturing has been confused with cultural difference. So maturation is cast aside in favor of cult recitation of great truths that appear to explain the immaturity of young people.

While the anthro is thus, in a sense, the victim of the Indians, he should, nevertheless, recognize the role he has been asked to play and refuse to play it. Instead, the temptation to appear relevant to a generation of young Indians has clouded his sense of proportion. Workshop anthros often ask Indians of tender age to give their authoritative answers to problems that an entire generation of Indians is just now beginning to solve. Where the answer to reservation health problems may be adequate housing in areas where there has never been adequate housing, young Indians are shaped in their thinking processes to consider vague doctrines on the nature of man and his society.

It is preposterous that a teenaged Indian should become an instant authority, equal in status to the Ph.D. interrogating him. Yet the very human desire is to play that game every summer, for the status acquired in the game is heady.

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And since answers can be given only in the vocabulary created by the Ph.D., the entire leadership-training process internalizes itself and has no outlet beyond the immediate group. Real problems, superimposed on the ordinary problems of maturing, thus become insoluble burdens that crush people of great leadership potential.

Let us take some specific examples. One workshop discussed the thesis that Indians were in a terrible crisis. They were, in the words of friendly anthro guides, "between two worlds." People between two worlds, the students were told, "drank." For the anthropologists, it was a valid explanation of drinking on the reservation. For the young Indians, it was an authoritative definition of their role as Indians. Real Indians, they began to think, drank; and their task was to become real Indians, for only in that way could they re-create the glories of the past. So they *drank*. I've lost some good friends who drank too much.

Abstract theories create abstract action. Lumping together the variety of tribal problems and seeking the demonic principle at work that is destroying Indian people may be intellectually satisfying, but it does not change the situation. By concentrating on great abstractions, anthropologists have unintentionally removed many young Indians from the world of real problems to the lands of make-believe.

As an example of a real problem, the Pyramid Lake Paiutes and the Gila River Pima and Maricopa are poor because they have been systematically cheated out of their water rights, and on desert reservations, water is the single most important factor in life. No matter how many worlds Indians straddle, the Plains Indians have an inadequate land base that continues to shrink because of land sales. Straddling worlds is irrelevant to straddling small pieces of land and trying to earn a living.

Along the Missouri River, the Sioux used to live in comparative peace and harmony. Although land allotments were small, families were able to achieve a fair standard of living through a combination of gardening and livestock raising and supplemental work. Little cash income was required, because the basic necessities of food, shelter and community life were provided. After World War Two, anthropologists came to call. They were horrified that the Indians didn't carry on their old customs, such as dancing, feasts and giveaways. In fact, the people did keep up a substantial number of customs, but they had been transposed into church gatherings, participation in the county fairs and tribal celebrations, particularly fairs and rodeos. The people did Indian dances. But they didn't do them all the time.

Suddenly, the Sioux were presented with an authority figure who bemoaned the fact that whenever he visited the reservations, the Sioux were not out dancing in the manner of their ancestors. Today, the summers are taken up with one great orgy of dancing and celebrating, as each small community of Indians sponsors a weekend powwow for the people in the surrounding communities. Gone are the little gardens that used to provide fresh vegetables in the summer and canned goods in the winter. Gone are the chickens that provided eggs and Sunday dinners. In the winter, the situation becomes critical for families who spent the summer dancing. While the poverty programs have done much to counteract the situation, few Indians recognize that the condition was artificial from start to finish. The people were innocently led astray, and even the anthropologists did not realize what had happened.

One example: The Oglala Sioux are perhaps the most well known of the Sioux bands. Among their past leaders were Red Cloud, the only Indian who ever defeated the United States in a war, and Crazy Horse, most revered of the Sioux war chiefs. The Oglala were, and perhaps still are, the meanest group of Indians ever assembled. They would take after a cavalry troop just to see if their bowstrings were taut enough. When they had settled on the reservation, the Oglala made a fairly smooth transition to the new life. They had good herds of cattle, they settled along the numerous creeks that cross the reservation and they created a very strong community spirit. The Episcopalians and the Roman Catholics had the missionary franchise on the reservation and the tribe was pretty evenly split between the two. In the Episcopal Church, at least, the congregations were fairly self-governing and stable.

But over the years, the Oglala Sioux have had a number of problems. Their population has grown faster than their means of support. The Government allowed white farmers to come into the eastern part of the reservation and create a county, with the best farmlands owned or operated by whites. The reservation was allotted—taken out of the collective hands of the tribe and parceled out to individuals—and when ownership became too complicated, control of the land passed out of Indian hands. The Government displaced a number of families during World War Two by taking a part of the reservation for use as a bombing range to train crews for combat. Only last year was this land returned to tribal and individual use.

The tribe became a favorite subject for anthropological study quite early, because of its romantic past. Theories arose attempting to explain the apparent lack of progress of the Oglala Sioux. The true issue—white control of the reservation—was overlooked completely. Instead, every conceivable intangible cultural distinction was used to explain the lack of economic, social and educational progress of a people who were, to all intents and purposes, absentee landlords because of the Government policy of leasing their lands to whites.

One study advanced the startling proposition that Indians with many cattle were, on the average, better off than Indians without cattle. Cattle Indians, it seems, had more capital and income than did noncattle Indians. Surprise! The study had innumerable charts and graphs that demonstrated this great truth beyond the doubt of a reasonably prudent man. Studies of this type were common but unexciting. They lacked that certain flair of insight so beloved by anthropologists. Then one day a famous anthropologist advanced the theory, probably valid at the time and in the manner in which he advanced it, that the Oglala were "warriors without weapons."

The chase was on. Before the ink had dried on the scholarly journals, anthropologists from every library stack in the nation converged on the Oglala Sioux to test this new theory. Outfitting anthropological expeditions became the number-one industry of the small off-reservation Nebraska towns south of Pine Ridge. Surely, supplying the Third Crusade to the Holy Land was a minor feat compared with the task of keeping the anthropologists at Pine Ridge.

Every conceivable difference between the Oglala Sioux and the folks at Bar Harbor was attributed to the quaint warrior tradition of the Oglala Sioux. From lack of roads to unshined shoes, Sioux problems were generated, so the anthros discovered, by the refusal of the white man to recognize the great desire of the Oglala to go to war. Why expect an Oglala to become a small businessman, when he was only waiting for that wagon train to come around the bend? The very real and human problems of the reservation were considered to be merely by-products of the failure of a warrior people to become domesticated. The fairly respectable thesis of past exploits in war, perhaps romanticized for morale purposes, became a spiritual force all its own. Some Indians, in a tongue-in-cheek manner for which Indians are justly famous, suggested that a subsidized wagon train be run through the reservation each morning at nine o'clock and the reservation people paid a minimum wage for attacking it.

By outlining this problem, I am not deriding the Sioux. I lived on that reservation for 18 years and know many of the problems from which it suffers. How, I ask, can the Oglala Sioux make any headway in education when their lack of education is ascribed to a desire to go to war? Would not, perhaps, an incredibly low per-capita income, virtually nonexistent housing, extremely inadequate roads and domination by white farmers and ranchers make some difference? If the little Sioux boy or girl had no breakfast, had to walk miles to a small school and had no decent clothes nor place to study in a one-room log cabin, should the level of education be comparable with that of

The question of the Oglala Sioux is one that plagues every Indian tribe in the nation, if it will closely examine itself. Tribes have been defined; the definition has been completely explored; test scores have been advanced promoting and deriding the thesis; and, finally, the conclusion has been reached: Indians must be redefined in terms that white men will accept, even if that means re-Indianizing them according to the white man's idea of what they were like in the past and should logically become in the future.

Consider the implications of theories put forward to solve the problem of poverty among the blacks. Several years ago, the word went forth that black poverty was due to the disintegration of the black family, that the black father no longer had a prominent place in the home. How incredibly shortsighted that thesis was. How typically Anglo-Saxon! How in the world could there have been a black family if people were sold like cattle for 200 years, if there were large plantations that served merely as farms to breed more slaves, if white owners systematically ravaged black women? When did the black family unit ever become integrated? Herein lies a trap into which many Americans have fallen: Once a problem is defined and understood by a significant number of people who have some relation to it, the fallacy goes, the problem ceases to exist.

The effect of anthropologists on Indians should be clear. Compilation of useless knowledge for knowledge's sake should be utterly rejected by the Indian people. We should not be objects of observation for those who do nothing to help us. During the critical days of 1954, when the Senate was pushing for termination of all Indian rights, not one scholar, anthropologist, sociologist, historian or economist came forward to support the tribes against the detrimental policy. Why didn't the academic community march to the side of the tribes? Certainly the past few years have shown how much influence academe can exert when it feels compelled to enlist in a cause. Is Vietnam any more crucial to the moral stance of America than the great debt owed to the Indian tribes?

Perhaps we should suspect the motives of members of the academic community. They have the Indian field well defined and under control. Their concern is not the ultimate policy that will affect the Indian people, but merely the creation of new slogans and doctrines by which they can climb the university totem pole. Reduction of people to statistics for purposes of observation appears to be inconsequential to the anthropologist when compared with the immediate benefits he can derive —the acquisition of further prestige and the chance to appear as the high priest of American society, orienting and manipulating to his heart's desire.

Roger Jourdain, chairman of the Red Lake Chippewa tribe of Minnesota, casually had the anthropologists escorted from his reservation a couple of years ago. This was the tip of the iceberg. If only more Indians had the insight of Jourdain. Why should we continue to provide private zoos for anthropologists? Why should tribes have to compete with scholars for funds, when their scholarly productions are so useless and irrelevant to life?

Several years ago, an anthropologist stated that over a period of some 20 years he had spent, from all sources, close to $10,000,000 studying a tribe of fewer than 1000 people. Imagine what that amount of money would have meant to that group of people had it been invested in buildings and businesses. There would have been no problems to study.

I sometimes think that Indian tribes could improve relations between themselves and the anthropologists by adopting the following policy: Each anthro desiring to study a tribe should be made to apply to the tribal council for permission to do his study. He would be given such permission only if he raised as a contribution to the tribal budget an amount of money equal to the amount he proposed to spend on his study. Anthropologists would thus become productive members of Indian society, instead of ideological vultures.

This proposal was discussed at one time in Indian circles. It blew no small number of anthro minds. Irrational shrieks of "academic freedom" rose like rockets from launching pads. The very idea of putting a tax on useless information was intolerable to the anthropologists we talked with. But the question is very simple. Are the anthros concerned about freedom—or license? Academic freedom certainly does not imply that one group of people has to become chessmen for another group of people. Why should Indian communities be subjected to prying non-Indians any more than other communities? Should any group have a franchise to stick its nose into someone else's business?

I don't think my proposal ever will be accepted. It contradicts the anthropologists' self-image much too strongly. What is more likely is that Indians will continue to allow their communities to be turned inside out until they come to realize the damage that is being done to them. Then they will seal up the reservations and no further knowledge—useless or otherwise—will be created. This may be the best course. Once, at a Congressional hearing, someone asked Alex Chasing Hawk, a council member of the Cheyenne Sioux for 30 years, "Just what do you Indians want?" Alex replied, "A leave-us-alone law."

The primary goal and need of Indians today is not for someone to study us, feel sorry for us, identify with us or claim descent from Pocahontas to make us feel better. Nor do we need to be classified as semiwhite and have programs made to bleach us further. Nor do we need further studies to see if we are "feasible." We need, instead, a new policy from Congress that acknowledges our intelligence, and our dignity.

In its simplest form, such a policy would give a tribe the amount of money now being spent in the area on Federal schools and other services. With this block grant, the tribe itself would communally establish and run its own schools and hospitals and police and fire departments—and, in time, its own income-producing endeavors, whether in industry or agriculture. The tribe would not be taxed until enough capital had accumulated so that individual Indians were getting flat dividends.

Many tribes are beginning to acquire the skills necessary for this sort of independence, but the odds are long: An Indian district at Pine Ridge was excited recently about the possibility of running its own schools, and a bond issue was put before them that would have made it possible for them to do so. In the meantime, however, anthropologists visiting the community convinced its people that they were culturally unprepared to assume this sort of responsibility; so the tribe voted down the bond issue. Three universities have sent teams to the area to discover why the issue was defeated. The teams are planning to spend more on their studies than the bond issue would have cost.

I would expect an instant rebuttal by the anthros. They will say that my sentiments do not represent the views of all Indians—and they are right, they have brainwashed many of my brothers. But a new day is coming. Until then, it would be wise for anthropologists to climb down from their thrones of authority and pure research and begin helping Indian tribes instead of preying on them. For the wheel of karma grinds slowly, but it does grind fine. And it makes a complete circle.

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"The tragedy in the Brazilian forest primeval outscales Vietnam and Biafra put together, and can only be compared with the official extermination of the Jews by the Third Reich."

— Christ und Welt, *Stuttgart*

DER SPIEGEL, HAMBURG

BRAZIL'S DEAD INDIANS: THE KILLING OF AN UNWANTED RACE

In the glare of publicity surrounding Biafra, and, more recently, the Vietnam atrocities, the U.S. has all but overlooked an incredible phenomenon taking place in its own hemisphere: the alleged mass murder of Brazil's Indians.

It was nearly two years ago that Brazil's most mind-numbing scandal broke into the open. According to the Government's own admission, Brazil's already decimated population of Indians was being systematically slaughtered with the full compliance of the Government's Indian Protection Service. The number of Indian dead was considered uncountable. In March 1968, preliminary trials took place, and the Government promised that those officials responsible for the genocide would be properly dealt with. But even at that time, with the exception of a few national publications, the scandal received short-lived attention in the U.S. press.

In recent months, European publications have again taken up the cry. A Swedish documentary just three months ago showed that the accused officials were still free, and that the massacres were continuing unabated. Other reports stated that aircraft and other weapons to increase the efficiency of mass extermination are currently on order. Europeans demonstrated throughout last fall, and more eyewitness reports appeared in the press. The Brazilian Government denies the allegations.

Norman Lewis's report in the London *Sunday Times*, published early last year, probably gives the fullest account of the extermination of a gentle civilization throughout the years. An excerpt from Germany's weekly *Der Spiegel* deals with events in the past few months. Other excerpts, including a brief analysis by Tunis's *Jeune Afrique*, on Brazil's current efforts to "civilize" its Indians, corroborate the main reports.

"Some of the blame for the genocide must be placed upon foreign land-owners. Fully one-fifth of Brazil, sometimes broken into enormous estates, is owned by foreign individuals and corporations. The largest single owner is the Boat Carriers Corporation, an American company. Another U.S. firm, controlled by the Sellig Brothers, has bought and resold to U.S. citizens over 3.3 million acres of land, including the entire northern portion of the State of Minas Gerais. Finally, the Jornal do Brasil *revealed that Prince Ranier of Monaco owns lands whose area is twelve times the size of his Principality."*

From JEUNE AFRIQUE, Tunis

THE KILLING GOES ON

One of the world's most flagrant atrocities—the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Brazilian Indians—has been brought to light by a Swedish anthropologist and a journalist. The journalist is Tergny Andelberg, whose documentary on the continuing genocide in Brazil caused a furor throughout Europe after the film was aired on Swedish television a few months ago. The anthropologist is Lars Persson, who reported from the scene: "Brazil is on the verge of the final solution—the complete physical extinction of its Indians."

Despite a scandal in 1968, when trials were held and Brazil's Government vowed that the guilty officials would be punished, Lars Persson reported that as late as the fall of 1969 a member of the Brazilian embassy in Ottawa confirmed rumors that Brazil had ordered twelve Caribou airplanes with fittings for napalm bombs to be used "in a campaign against Brazil's Indians."

Following the showing of Andelberg's documentary and Persson's report, demonstrations took place in Sweden and spread throughout Europe. Over 2,000 German, Scandinavian, Swiss, and Austrian anthropologists met in late October to demand that the Brazilian Government issue a human rights guarantee to the surviving Indians, and that it publicly proclaim that the guilty would be brought to justice without further delay.

The Brazilian embassy in Bonn hastened to affirm that the Government in Brazilia had taken adequate steps against the guilty during the trials in 1968. In fact, however, not a single one of the accused slaughterers has been sentenced, or even brought to trial. The cries of outrage that arose around the world two years ago may have died down, but the fact remains: not a single man has been brought to trial—in fact, the original Government report on the massacres has now been altered, whitewashing the defendants and charging them with "a slight misuse of authority."

Brazilian public opinion alone cannot force the Government to prosecute the accused, because there exists an official sanction against mentioning any subject which might be detrimental to the "peace and stability of the nation." Thus, the Indians of Brazil seem sentenced to irrevocable and eventual extinction.

From DER SPIEGEL, Hamburg

DER SPIEGEL, HAMBURG

A COUNTRY 'CIVILIZES' ITS SAVAGES

The Xingu National park, a 24,000-square-mile reservation named after a tributary of the Amazon, is to many people a model for humane policy toward Brazil's Indians. In Xingu, religion, civil rights, penal law and the art and customs of the Indians are left pure and untouched. A dramatization of *Quarup*, a long epic poem depicting the origin of man, still takes place annually, accompanied by music and dancing. As to "punishment" among the Xingu Indians, the word is unknown. No one punishes, not even the chieftain.

If, for example, an Indian steals something, the leaders of the village send a man at dawn to make a speech in front of the suspect's hut. He speaks very impersonally, mentioning no names, and the theft is referred to in general terms. Then the speaker leaves. The village is silent. And, almost always, the robber returns what he had stolen. If he does not, no one will punish him. He is aware that everyone knows he is a robber, but no one will breathe a word.

Anthropologists agree that the Indians' culture must be preserved not just as a matter of heritage, but because, quite simply, it is the only way the natives can survive and remain happy. And who is to say that they need our technology? The Cajabis tribes, for instance, regularly cultivate sixteen varieties of peanuts, while professional agronomists in São Paulo know only of six. And while white farmers raise a kind of Brazilian potato known as *manguito*, which is the size of a ping-pong ball, Indians can grow them to the size of a football.

But the National Foundation for Indians—which is replacing the scandal-scarred Indian Protective Service—seems to be ignoring the anthropological evidence entirely. For example, the new Government agency has just announced its decision to create a "Native Guard" among the gentle Indian tribes. After military training and instruction in Portuguese, the Guards are supposed to return to their villages, ostensibly to prepare defenses against the *fazendeirors*.

Also, the Ministry of Agriculture has decided to establish a system of apprenticeships for such occupations as mechanics and tractor drivers. Finally, a rural penitentiary has been built to punish Indian thieves, where the main "rehabilitative" training will be modern agricultural techniques . . .

From JEUNE AFRIQUE, Tunis

Americans Before Columbus

19 November, 1969

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Indian Studies 1969

Announcing . . in glorious color . . . wide screen . . . Years in the making . . . A cast of thousands . . . From the same folks that brought you irrelevant elementary secondary education . . . For those who didn't get to drop-out yet . . . A new level of failure and frustration to finally prove you're hopeless . . .

INDIAN STUDIES 1969!

From Harvard to Long Beach everybody's dragging out every old grey-headed anthro who ever had a notion, the zanier the better, of how to teach skins.

It's a recurrent fad, I suppose – different schools of education take turns writing up fanciful twists of curriculum for the hard-to-teach. Last year it was the deaf. The year before, the blind. And the year before that, one-legged runaways. This year Indians are "in."

These latest professional antics are great gustos of effort repleat with sweeping rhetoric and impassioned fund-raising speeches. It is supposed that Indians learn differently, so there must be a secret technique they have with one another which can be transposed onto present methodological framework.

Every tradition, education included, embarks on an occasional foray into the absurd or bizarre, if only to change the pace for comic relief; as long as "the way" is not disturbed. If Indians are dropping out anyway, administrators expect to be thanked for toying with exotic ways of "keeping them in" or "salvaging souls," as religious personnel would term it.

"Indian Participation" is taken care of by gathering together a suitable number of students (no difficulty, really, because most Indians like to be with other Indians) and appointing certain other Indians (the kind with degrees) to shepard them through the canyons of the campus; along the same trails of the white pioneers, however. Indian file, too.

It would be unfair not to mention that many educators are concerned with the Indian drop-out rate, which is related to the Indian standard of living. Some of the Indian Studies' program directors sincerely want to find out how Indians can get their credentials to shape their own destinies. To do this they must "import" responsibility and wisdom. But no one has yet found out how to give lessons in responsibility, wisdom, and choice-making without structurally allowing those to be taught to *have* responsibility, and *make* choices backed up by the power to put them into action. Wisdom is vicarious; it comes from experiencing the use of power.

INDIAN PARTICIPATION

Tampering with the structure is beyond the pale of the program directors. The reason for this is the same reason that Indian educational reform seems to be starting at the top first: the motives of administrators are not conscience but originate from fear. The sad part is that the schools don't fear the Indian, but they do fear Blacks and Mexicans who threaten to burn the cities. Indian Studies programs are the tail end of Ethnic Studies programs, which are tyrannically controlled by as many as three larger minorities. Indians are an afterthought, used to make fear look like conscience or sophistication.

"Out-nosed" at the trough, the Indian directors content themselves with the physical presence of Indians, anticipation some kind of osmosis, where learning seeps through the desk into the skin. The directors find themselves concerned with repeating Indian history, retelling the stories of Pontiac and Tecumseh, hoping the students will discover their identities through the past. We are all waiting for the logical next step: teach Chippewas about Chinese language and lore – after all, that is our past.

Indians are generally too polite to revolt against these modern atrocities in the classroom so we can expect the drop-out rate to maintain itself in a continued pattern of quiet rejection. For many of the students who do not respond to these newly intensified efforts couched in friendly new rhetoric their experience (or non-experience) will possibly be a final and ultimate failure that tolls hopelessness not only to themselves, but countless more to come. The Indian Studies role in that perfidy will be the sanctioning agent to Indian derision and undertaken as a modern mass funeral.

The singlemost fault of all Indian education has been the exclusion of Indian experience. Culture is dynamic, not stotic, frozen, compartmentalized, and intricately defined. "Indian Values" are sought mostly by those who have difficulty identifying as members of a tribe. In private, they probably also ponder and speculate as to how Crazy Horse would hold a piece of chalk. Indians are objectionized, dissected, vivisected, and spread out for clinical inspection. No wonder so few patients survive this crude process. The students, surviving this process are apt to go home and work on, not work with, their folks.

OUTSIDE DEFINITIONS)

Schools today deride Indians as incompetent primitives who need a bath, a hair cut, and lots of hard work to keep them from being dirty and lazy. To succeed in school, Indians need to have big grins, loud mouths, and white skirts – go two ways about it. Indianism is viewed as antogonistic with Americanism.

Graduates are explicitly donors of their Indians selves, having not been able to meaningfully assert their tribalness while in school. So they get to college unaware of the processes by which they got where they are, and the fact that it was an alternate choice over their primary selves.

The political science graudates know these sciences have nothing to do with tribal councils, treaty rights, or the Interior Department. The educational systems are specialized – concepts of Democracy and Justice are Greek and Roman things, not Indian.

THE AMERICAN DREAM

From this foreign-type learning a gulf comes between the student and his Indian self, which means between the student and his community. It is a gulf of experience; the Indian becomes discontinuous from his tribe, estranged from the essence of himself. He is consoled: told that he is "enlarged," having "gone beyond" narrow tribalism.

It is true that the most ardent advocates and exponents of the American Dream are Indian students. They are experts at spouting the credos of abstractions of hard work, sacrifice, responsibility for America, clean living, non-violent, and apple pie. Like a house pet they will fly at the throat of anyone who calls Washington, Jackson, or Lincoln a betrayer of Indians. To these students, Indianism is a hobby – they may even join the Boy Scouts to "preserve our heritage." "Those Indians", not "we" is the stock phrase in their vocabulary.

Indian definitions, Indian viewpoints, and Indian problems are outside the realm of schools; and, Indians are not likely to be trained in school to deal with their situation in the near future.

If even middle-class white students, those for whom schools are built, are doubting the relevancy of educational institutions, where does that leave Indians, who were never in consideration?

INDIANS AND THE NEW LEFT

A few Indian students become influenced by Black and leftist radicals. They adopt their slogans and use a new word in every sentence, they spit: WHITE HONKEY FACIST RACIST POWER STRUCTURE. They begin to sense how they were garabled and done in by the you-know-what and get excited and militant and scream around in pain, resembling eighteen-year-olds upon learning there is no Santa Claus.

In this fit of total rejection, they are unable to come to terms with themselves or the machine. The answer they see is abandoning the ship, not taking it over; they retreat because they don't know how to do battle, or resolve the conflicts that produced the monsters which they are.

The destruction of personality by the school could not, therefore, take place without the voluntary cooperation of the student. Most are too weak to withstand the pressures. Insurmountable pressures are inevitable as long as Indians take the white man's opinion too seriously. There needs to be outlets for the practical extension of Indianness, wherein Indians' concern and commitment can be put into context with other Indians who support them. No one can be an Indian by themselves for long.

Right now, without Indian institutions, it's a white world. It could be an Indian world, maybe it will be. First things first: Education and Indianness, in spite of the record, are not irreconcilable – if education is subordinated to Indian direction. Power, upon which institutions are built, needs to be grabbed, not begged; worked for, not argued over. Education will then be a power tool Indians can use to act out their own definitions and carve out a chunk of America for themselves.

Indianness is not isolation, it is interaction on our own terms – not stagnation, but change in accordance with choice, not coercion.

AN INDIAN INSTITUTE)

The National Indian Youth Council is now seeking funding for such an Indian institution in cooperation with Colorado University. Initially designed as a four-year demonstration school, it will go for beyond the token shiftings of present and projected federal Indian education policy.

In concept, content, and character it is the property of Indian youth, designed to meet the demonstrated needs outlined above. Typically it is being held up in Washington by sell-out Indian bureaucrats. We who wrote it can see nothing else which can remotely begin to effect Indian drop-out rates. And even if every Indian entering school finished with degrees galore, the question of Indian personality and community survival would not be answered.

To complement educational efforts and bridge the gap between Indian students and their tribes, NIYC is also seeking to establish a summer program which gets the kids back home, for a change. An "INDIAN VISTA" would have more entree, solve communication problems, and certainly prove more as a resource to his people than white kids who only know how to play softball, smile big, and ask stupid questions. At the present time Indian students can either get jobs in far-away cities and campuses or at home as dishwashers. Not only is the tribe deprived of whatever talent and energy it might have, the young Indian is deprived of the teaching, experience, and counsel of his elders.

Example of how Indians have asserted their rights and overcome opposition trickle into our office – they are few enough, to be sure, but they furnish, the basis of our efforts and give life to the despairing among us. For we know, better than anyone else today, that our personal fortunes are inextricable bound to the fortunes of our fellow Indians.

Bill Pensoneau

United Fund Drops Indian Center

Gallup Indian Center – closed on account of racism?

On October 31st the McKinley United Fund Board halted the 1969 funding of the Gallup Indian Center. Herb Blatchford, director of the Center said that he felt the cut-off of funds was an effort to make the Center a "scape-goat" because the Center has permitted critics of the Gallup Inter-tribal Ceremonial to use the Center's facilities. Blatchford said that he personally nor the Center have taken any public stand on the Ceremonial.

The United Fund provides $20,000 of the Center's $35,000 operating budget. The Center serves the large Gallup Indian population and receives about 250,000 visitors annually. The Center organizes community recreation projects, sponsors dances, translates for Indians and serves as a place where transients can spend the night.

Blatchford stated the United Fund's action would not change the Center's policy toward those who use it.

Three Navajo students were ejected from the ceremonial grounds last August while distributing a leaflet criticizing white control of the Ceremonial. The students have now filed suit against the ceremonial. These students occasionally used the Center as "a place of congregation." Blatchford stated, "they (the United Fund Board) are imimplying that I should kick these kids out of the Center. This would be no more logical than the original action of kicking them off the ceremonial grounds."

The Gallup Indian Center is one of the oldest and largest in the nation.

Many Indians have expressed the fear that the action of the United Fund is a white reaction to increased Indian demands for greater political and economic power in Gallup.

PONCA HISTORY PROJECT

The White Eagle Community Development Association of Ponca City, Oklahoma, was awarded a $10,000 grant in July, 1969, by the National Endowment for the Humanities. The grant was awarded in support of the Clyde Warrior Ponca History Project.

The project is primarily concerned with recording and documenting legends, rites, customs and other cultural aspects of the Ponca Tribe. The material will be used in current programs of the W.E.C.D.A. as well as any other uses the Ponca people have for it.

Since NCAI and other establishment Indian organizations have beauty contests to elect a Miss so-and-so, the National Indian Youth Council concerned not to be left out of the Indian mainstream has held a beauty contest of its own. The winner and new Miss NIYC is *Martha Grass*, Ponca Indian from Marland, Oklahoma and a good friend of NIYC and Indian people. Congratulations Martha, you are one kind of beauty.

Relocation

don't talk me no words
don't frighten me
for i am in the blinding city
the lights
the cars
the deadened glafes
tear my heart
& close my mind

who questions my pain
the tight knot of anger
in my breast
i swallow hard and often
and taste my spit
and it does not taste good
who questions my mind

i came here because i was tired
the BIA taught me to cleanse myself
daily to keep a careful account of my time
efficiency was learned in catechism
the sisters spelled me god in white
and i came here to feed myself
corn & potatoes and chili and mutton
did not nourish me it was said:
so i agreed to move

i see me walking in sleep
down streets down streets gray with cement
and glaring glass and oily wind
armed with a pint of wine
i cheated my children to buy
i am ashamed
i am tired
i am hungry
i speak words
i am lonely for hills
i am longing for myself.

Simon J. Ortiz

Spirtual Massacre

New Mexico is fast becoming known nationwide as the "Mississippi of the Southwest." Just because Indians can drink out of any public fountain, get invited to dance at ceremonies, and ocassionally have the state governor throw his arm around them for a newspaper picture, doesn't mean that everything is all right. The fact is that the Indian drop-out rate is atrocious, poverty is rampant, Indian land is under attack, and Indian culture is ridiculed. These problems have gone unchallenged for so long because Indian children are being destroyed in the public schools.

Often NIYC members wearing "Indian Power" buttons are stopped on the street by Anglos who just have to tell us that Indians have never achieved any civilization like every other group in the world and how they are tired of us "living on the public dole." And how Indians are New Mexico's joke on the world. We're used to it. Far too often many college age Indians who have survived enough education, intellectualize about it or try to run to a white liberal friend for solace. This conditioned Indian reflex reaction is now coming to an end.

The reason is that young Indians in grammer school and high school will no longer stand being told that their culture is inferior, that Navajo is the Spanish word for thief, and submit to callous beatings. These young Indians may drop out of school but they will not become buffoon drunks on the streets of Gallup, Phoenix or Los Angeles. They will understand what has happened to them and who did it and they are going to kick back.

White people in the Southwest had better look closely at the situation of their number one tourist attraction. The Indian wars are not over and Indians are beginning to recognize Indian education for what it is, a sort of spiritual massacre.

Good-bye Columbus

On October 12th Americans celebrated the discovery of the continent. We Indians are sincerely grateful for having been "discovered" but we were looking for some more substancial reason for joining the festivities.

What did Columbus do for us? He misnamed us. He gave us syphilus. He opened the way to the destruction of the Inca and Aztec Civilizations. He made us slaves on plantations. He opened up the continent for wars of genocide against us. He condenmed us to lives of poverty, early death, and loss of pride. He polluted our rivers, stole our lands, raped our women, and turned us against each other. And when his followers could think of nothing else to do to us, they made us tourist attractions.

Columbus was probably a nice, well-meaning, church-going Italian boy, but we decided to leave it to others to celebrate his exploits.

The Warpath

20

UNITED NATIVE AMERICANS INC.
P. O. BOX 26149, SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94126

PROPOSED PRINCIPLES

Many Indian organizations now exist, especially at the local level, and some are doing a good job. Too many are, however, simply cliques or some "leader" with a few followers, while others are controlled by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

A great need exists for a truly democratice pan-Indian organization, with local chapters to ensure grass-roots control, and one which will work for the progress and liberation of all Native Americans throughout the Americas.

BASIC PRINCIPLES AS REGARDS UNITED STATES INDIAN AFFAIRS:

1. All treaties and agreements made with Indian tribes or groups must be recognized as legally binding upon the United States and upon the States, except those treaties or agreements forced upon Indian tribes or groups against their will by illegal means shall not necessarily be binding upon the Indians.

2. All treaties and agreements enforced by the United States (such as the California treaties of 1851-52), although never ratified by the U.S. Senate, must be recognized as contracts legally binding upon the Executive Branch unless the treaties were illegally forced upon the Indians.

3. The Fifth Amendment to the Constitution, which prohibits the seizure of private property without just compensation and "due process of law" must be recognized as applying to Indian property since "all persons" are protected by the Amendment. Indians have always been "persons" except in the eyes of racist courts, especially since white judges have ruled that aliens and white corporations are "persons".

4. Democratic practices must be applied to Indian affairs, and this means that Indians must be able to control those agencies which vitally affect their own communities, must be able to share in control over agencies which affect both Indians and non-Indians, and must have power in relation to the education of their children. This means that the programs of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, Indian Desk of the Office of Economic Opportunity, and Indian Public Health Service must be under democratic Indian control and that Indians must possess at least some control over Indian projects developed by state and local agencies.

5. Native Americans must possess complete control over their own heritage which means that they must be able to select their own names for their own tribes, reservations, mountains, rivers and towns; that they must own all objects removed from old Indian villages and burial grounds; that they must possess control over all so-called scientific investigation of Indian "sites"; and that Indian cemetaries and historical places must be protected from destruction.

6. Indian tribal territories (so-called reservations and other areas occupied by Indian People) have not yet been legally incorporated into the United States in a full sense. Their status as "domestic dependent nations" (that is, protectorates) of the U.S. has not been changed and cannot be changed legally except by means of bi-lateral agreements.

7. The legal confusion resulting from illegal actions of the U.S. Congress and Executive Branch relating to the status of tribal territories and tribes can only be settled by new bi-lateral negotiations.

8. UNITED NATIVE AMERICANS will always be guided in its actions by the wishes of a particular Indian people whenever these actions affect primarily that people. Each individual Indian community shall be encouraged to adopt its' own goals and a set of tactics for achieving those goals, and this organization should respect those goals and tactics, although reserving the right to disagree with them in a fraternal spirit. This principle does not apply to the actions of a tribal council known to be controlled by a minority clique or by the government.

BASIC PRINCIPLES RELATING TO THE AMERICAS AS A WHOLE:

1. We recognize the brotherhood of all Indian peoples without regard to the Whiteman's boundary lines and we also recognize our commong cause with other native tribal groups under U.S. control such as the Polynesian and Micronesian peoples.

2. In those republics, territories, or provinces where Native Americans are the majority population (Paraguay, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador, Guatemala, Greenland, etc.), they should possess dominant control over the political, linguistic, and cultural destiny of that area. Such self-determination should be obtained by peaceful, democratic procedures where possible but the use of force by the Indian people cannot be condemned when they are being oppressed by force.

3. The U.S. should be encouraged to break off diplomatic relations with governments which suppress or ignore the rights of Native American peoples and the U.S. should give support to Indian liberation efforts.

4. Throughout the Americas each native tribe or community should possess local autonomy and the right to preserve its own language, religion, and culture.

5. The inter-American Indian Institute, which is a part of the Organization of American States (Pan American Union) should be governed by a council composed of Native Americans only.

SPECIFIC PROGRAMS IN THE UNITED STATES

1. THE IMMEDIATE REPLACEMENT OF THE BUREAU OF INDIAN AFFAIRS BY A NON-PROFIT INDIAN-CONTROLLED DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, and by tribal corporations.

2. An increase in federal money going to Indian education with funds going to Indian-controlled tribal or inter-tribal educational agencies.

3. The establishment of a democratically chosen Indian agency, such as a National Indian policy and to elect a "Trusteeship" Council. The Trusteeship Council should possess all of the powers now possessed by the Secretary of the Interior as a trustee of Indian property.

4. Until the above is done, transfering the above powers to the National Council on Indian Opportunity PROVIDED THAT THIS COUNCIL IS COMPOSED ONLY OF INDIANS CHOSEN OR APPOINTED IN SOME DEMOCRATIC WAY.

5. The abolition of the Indian Claims Commission and at the same time giving Indian tribes the right to sue in regular federal courts.

6. The IMMEDIATE RETURN TO THE INDIAN TRIBES OF ALL INDIAN-HELD LAND ILEGALLY SEIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT AND STILL HELD BY THE GOVERNMENT as so-called "public domain," unless the individual tribe chooses to accept cash, each individual preferring land shall be able to get a portion of the "public domain" equal in value to the individual cash award (with the value of the land being determined by the value set by the government in determing the amount of cash award).

7. An increase in monies going for the economic development of Indian communities with all such funds going to Indian-controlled groups. ALL OEO PROGRAMS SHOULD BE UNDER INDIAN CONTROL IF THEY ARE DESIGNED TO BENEFIT INDIANS, INCLUDING THE "INDIAN DESK" ITSELF, THE OEO UNIVERSITY CONSORTIUM SHOULD BE ABOLISHED AND THE FUNDS SHOULD GO DIRECTLY TO AN INDIAN-CONTROLLED COLLEGE OR TRAINING ORGANIZATION.

8. The recognition of Indian tribal corporations, whether chartered under the Indian Reorganization Act, by state charter or by self-charter, as corporations possessing full legal equality with all non-profit corporations and with all municipal-type corporations.

9. The recognition of all Indian tribes organized by Indian people as legitimate tribes deserving of federal aid, whether currently being aided by the BIA or not.

10. The recognition that the special status of Indian land is derived not from any trusteeship powers of the federal government but from the former sovereign character of Indian nations.

11. The recognition that all tribal territories have the right to select their future status, including the posibility of statehood in the case of the Navajo.

12. The complete abandonment of the "termination" idea both because it is bad and because the federal government has no power, legally, to terminate anything but services in any case.

13. The discontinuance of the relocation program until Indian peoples are in control of Indian affairs.

14. Already relocated and other urban Indians should be provided with funds to establish urban inter-tribal development corporations under elected democratic control. The funds for these corporations should come through a national Indian-controlled agency, but earmarked for urban use.

15. All reservations recognized in earlier years, but later abandoned or abolished by the BIA, should be restored immediately or replaced, unless they were replaced earlier by equal territory.

16. An American Indian University, under Indian control, should be established and Haskell and Santa Fe institutes and all major BIA vocational programs should be transferred to it.

17. The Congress should resolve that ancient Indian place-names shall be the correct and official place-names on all federal property.

18. The Congress should order the Post Office Department and the Treasury to issue coins and postage stamps recognizing the culture and history of the Indian people.

MEMBERSHIP AND STRUCTURE:

1. Membership should be open to all persons of Native American descent with associate membership for all other persons, provided that all members agree to uphold the basic principles.

2. UNA should be based on democratic chapters with representation at regional, national, and international levels being proportional to the size of the chapters.

Indian Educators Needed

We are searching for "Indian" educators who have degrees in the fields of "History, Anthropology, and Sociology. There are also other universities and colleges around the country that are searching for "Indian" educators, if anyone is interested, please contact Lehman L. Brightman, Indian Studies Program, University of California, Berkeley, Calif., Ph: (415) 642-6717.

Indian Liberation

The Complete Failure Of The Bureau of Indian Affairs

What Has Nixon Done For Us ?

WHAT WE LEARNED IN SCHOOL

TWENTY-FIVE LESSONS
IN
CITIZENSHIP

D.L. HENNESSEY

Revised by
THOMAS B. RICHARDSON
Attorney at Law
Oakland, California

SEVENTY-EIGHTH EDITION

Berkeley, California

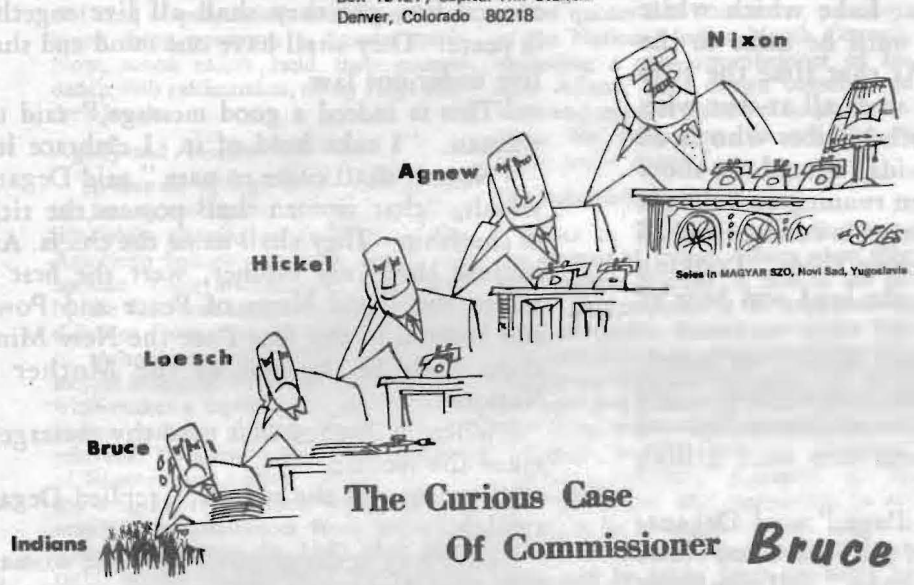
A few hundred years ago there were no white people in this country. The only inhabitants of the United States were the Indians. These Indians usually lived in small bands and wandered about from place to place. They lived mostly by hunting and fishing. They were often quarrelsome. Some of the different tribes or bands had settled homes and were partly civilized, but most of them were wandering savages who did nothing to develop this great country.

REMEMBER CRAZY HORSE

GUTS & TRIPE

COALITION OF AMERICAN INDIAN CITIZENS

Box 18421, Capitol Hill Station
Denver, Colorado 80218



The Curious Case Of Commissioner *Bruce*

We Indians have been demanding the privilege of full involvement, and an opportunity to plan programs for our own destiny and that of our children for many years now.

The time has come for that to take place. I want to make it clear that the Bureau of Indian Affairs under my direction has no intention of laying out the decisions for you. I want non-Indians to stop telling us what is wrong, what to do, and how it should be done. We are as capable of deciding issues that affect us as are they--but we the Indian people must take the initiative . . . .

Remarks by Louis Bruce, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, to a meeting of American Indians in Western Oklahoma, Fall, 1969.

Louis Rooks Bruce was appointed as Commissioner of Indian Affairs by the Republicans in July, 1969. The Republicans found him in Greenwich Village, New York City. There he lived comfortably, a part of Middle Class White America, and was Director of a social fraternity, Zeta Psi. On weekends he returned to his Upstate New York home where he owns a dairy farm.

It was a relief to have the position of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs finally filled though no one knew who Louis Rooks Bruce was. The press said he was a Mohawk and Oglala Sioux Indian. The National Congress of American Indians and some of the tribes they represented objected to his appointment, but the Republicans had already made their decision.

FOR THE THINGS YOU KNOW ARE RIGHT
IT'S THE TRUTH THAT THE TRUTH MAKES THEM SO UPTIGHT

The words Louis Bruce uttered to Indians in Western Oklahoma sound good. He had a good speech-writer for a while. We couldn't believe his "off the cuff" remarks at the Minneapolis conference on Indian education when he told over 500 Indian people that his administration would have as a major emphasis bringing in a public relations firm to help create a better image for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (Nixon tried that but it has not covered up the real Nixon).

There are at least six Indian communities waiting to hear from the Louis Bruce administration on their requests to take over their own schools; the Bureau has not come forth with strong support yet. But, Louis Bruce signed a contract for over $150,000 with a firm in California who want to train Indian women and their children to join "the mainstream of American life" when they dropped by his office and he had a call from Congressman Reifel (R, S.D.) supporting them... Another contract for over $180,000 was signed by Bruce to a Denver, Colorado, vocational school to train Indians to be draftsmen (this firm's ad in the Navajo Times begins "Do you like to draw?") This contract also had the approval of Congressman Reifel. . . Louis Bruce has not had the courtesy to reply to a request for $3,500 submitted to his office by a group of young Indian college students who are planning a national Indian college conference. The request went to him before Christmas. . . . He approved one of Jack Coulson's requests for a young white college student to go to the Navajo reservation from the East to live in a dormitory and study the Navajo students there. He got his way paid out to the boarding school by BIA and is on salary. . . . Need more be said.

COMING OF AGE - - IN AND OUT OF THE SYSTEM

As I work with more and more younger people -- in many instances working with my own family -- I'm beginning to discover or realize what many of these younger people are really fighting is the system. The system on the reservation is really bad. If people are all lined up supporting that system, you also have some people on the other side who want to do away with that system.

CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT YOU

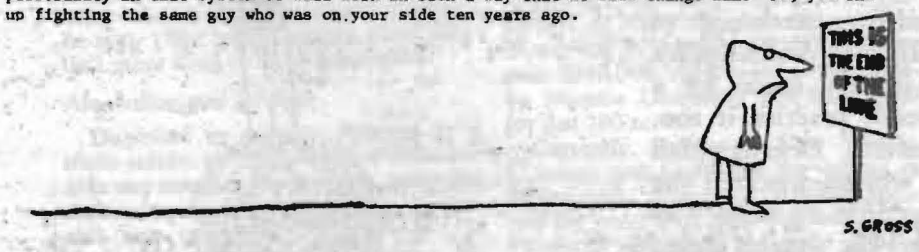
We thought on our reservation that the tribal government is somehow modeled after the BIa. Whatever the Bureau does, the Tribal Council takes it up. To them that is really the way to run the government. If you observe, do some kind of study on that council, you will find the average age in that council is old compared with the we think and the way many younger people think. Many of us feel the government given to us is not really ours.

COMING OF AGE

When I begin to think about this, I begin to believe that this is really not the kind of government that expresses what we believe. You don't really have a true representative government. The younger people on the reservation, the people we are working with are beginning to realize some of these things. What they want to do is get away from that system which is all tied up over here, including the tribal government, including some of the OEO projects. They are all tied up with the power structure. Some of these students will try and run that, and they will find themselves beating their heads up against a wall and they bounce out. You find that some of them might have, to some degree, a militant attitude. When we talk about solving problems or we try to solve a particular Indian problem, the system always comes to mind.

..OD GUYS MADE BAD GUYS

What we find ourselves in is a situation where we are really fighting the system. It is that system I am worried about, excluding personalities. Sometimes, when you do put a good personality in that system it will work in such a way that it will change him. So, you end up fighting the same guy who was on your side ten years ago.



THE KILLING OF AN UNWANTED RACE

Long Shot

According to *Congressional Quarterly*, which has researched the subject at the request of *The New Republic*, there have been 234 sons of Senators and Representatives of draft age since the US became militarily involved in Vietnam. More than half, 118, have received deferments. From 1965 through early 1970, the offspring of 49 members were in uniform, but none of them served in Vietnam; the sons or grandsons of 28 members did see service in Vietnam. None has been killed or listed missing. The son of Maryland's Congressman Clarence Long was wounded, twice, and in the same leg. That is the closest any of the 535 members of Congress has come to personal grief as a result of the war.

CQ says 19 members of Congress report having sons or grandsons who "saw combat"; the circumstances are not known. Only one Senator now has a son in Vietnam (Peter Dominick of Colorado); five Representatives have sons or grandsons there (Walter Baring of Nevada, Page Belcher of Oklahoma, Jeffery Cohelan and Charles Wiggins of California, and John Rhodes of Arizona). No one on the House Armed Services Committee has a son or a grandson who has done duty in Vietnam. Senators Aiken, Church, Ellender, Fannin, Fong, Griffin, Hart, Hartke, Hollings, Javits, Muskie, Pearson, Pell and Proxmire all are fathers or grandfathers of boys with student deferments. The son of Senator Case and grandson of Senator Bennett have occupational deferments. Senator Montoya's son got a marital deferment. Senator McCarthy's son is a conscientious objector. Senators Burdick, Cranston, Dodd, Goldwater, Everett Jordan and McGee have sons who flunked the physical – two each for Cranston, Goldwater, and McGee. Barry, Jr., son of Major General Goldwater, USAF Retired, is doing alternate service in the House of Representatives.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
February 21, 1970

3% of the fighting forces for the USA in Vietnam are American Indians. We make up 1/2 of 1% of the total population in the United States

What are these boys fighting for? The treaties our tribes signed with the United States government called for peace. In the treaties our great grandfathers promised to lay down arms and fight no more, and the Congress passed legislation that made it illegal for American Indians to bear arms. It was not until the mid-50s that states like Nebraska repealed that legislation.

After our country was colonized and became the United States of America, there came a number of wars. Indian men were proud members of the U.S. armd forces in World War I, World War II, Korea, and now Vietnam. Those who returned found conditions at home the same: no jobs, poverty, high suicide rates. . . .

We are not ashamed of these men who fought for their country. But, we have to ask what they gained in their fight for freedom? They've returned to see the rich get richer and the the poor get poorer in the wealthiest country in the world.

NO PLACE TO BE SOMEBODY

In the beginning, my role in the military service was one not of pride, but of indifference. I was like so many other Indian men who did not really know what they were getting into when they joined the service. If I thought I was a victim of the establishment before, now it is a stranglehold.

Now the time has come for me to stand firmly by principles I have developed. This society and their establishment is going through a revolution. If you don't realize this, it is. Few people have challenged and many more now are challenging the principles which this country is supposed to stand for. And the military is one of the most rigid structures existing. This country based on a Constitution that set up a precedent in 1776, now refuses to recognize and denies the rights of individuals to set precedents of their own. Treaties with the United States guaranteed the Indian that he would never be forced to take arms in any war this country would engage in. It wasn't until 1924 that Indians were declared citizens, most likely because of public conscience. Up to now, that conscience has rarely been bothered.

I have never met a single Indian serviceman who has not been to or will not go to Vietnam. The question persists, "why must we young Indian men bear the brunt of something they don't really belong to?" We don't even belong to statistics. Suicides among Indians are nearly three times the national average, an Indian's life expectancy is 44 years compared to the white man's 65 years. These don't take into account the Indian men who have died in the white man's wars. A young Indian man returned from Vietnam to the ghettos and the filthy streets of Chicago, on to be killed in those streets never to know the luxury he was supposed to have fought for in Vietnam.

I met John, a young Sioux from South Dakota in San Francisco. He was on his way to Vietnam, and was in mental turmoil because he had just missed his ride to Vietnam. I said, "Brother, you are going to such a place as Vietnam, and yet you worry what they might do to you because you missed your ride to Vietnam?" After awhile, he said he didn't think he would not go to Vietnam after all. I took him to see a military lawyer who didn't offer much help. John is now in the brig in San Francisco, desperately searching himself for strength to back up his principles. Strength, that only a coalition of American Indian citizens can show him.

Harry J. Buckanaga, ETR_3(USN)
Sisseton-Sioux

Summer work program ready

Navajo girls from the Intermountain School, Brigham City, Utah, will be available this summer to work as "live-in mother's helpers" in Utah homes.

The girls have been trained at the school's several modern Home Economic Laboratories, and are carefully screened and counseled before being placed in a home.

This work program has been conducted very successful in past years. Besides giving the students a chance to earn money, it provides invaluable work experience and the opportunity to acquire social skills by living and working in a non-Indian home.

Before a girl is placed with a family, Mrs. Sarah C. Bigler, placement officer, will visit the home to explain the program and assess problems of the employer. The girls, all 16 years old, and Sophomores and Juniors in High School will be available for work from May 16 through August 15. Employers will be required to pay the girls $20 a week in wages plus her board and room.

Anyone interested in having one of these fine young ladies in their home this summer may contact Mrs. Bigler, Intermountain School, P.O. Box 345, Brigham City, Utah, 84302 or phone 723-8591, Extension 401.

NAVAJO TIMES
February 26, 1970

The Intermountain Indian School is a Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding school in Brigham City, Utah, for Navajo students.

We wonder if it ever occurred to them that we are tired of cleaning and wiping up after white folks?

"The white man grows jealous of his red brother. The white man once came to trade; he now comes as a soldier. He once put his trust in our friendship and wanted no shield but our fidelity. But now he builds forts and plants big guns on their walls. He once gave us arms and powder and bade us hunt the game. We then loved him for his confidence ... He now covers his face with the cloud of jealousy and anger and tells us to be gone, as an offended master speaks to his dog...."

Satank, Kiowa, in speech to U. S. Peace Commission 1867

The Story of Deganawidah

How He Planted the Tree of the Great Peace and Founded the Iroquois Confederacy

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THE STORY OF DEGANAWIDAH is taken by Mary Arnold from "The White Roots of Peace" written by Paul A. W. Wallace, with the permission of the publishers. "The White Roots of Peace," copyright, 1946, by the University of Pennsylvania Press, is now out of print.

In 1450, at Onondaga, New York, when our European ancestors were concerned solely with selfish strife and war, the Iroquois or Five Nations were building up a great confederacy, based on principles of justice, law and peace.

Published by The Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of The Religious Society of Friends

FOREWORD

The Great Iroquois Confederacy

For over three hundred years, the Five Nations, as the Iroquois called themselves, were the greatest Indian power on the American continent. These Five Nations, Mohawks, Oneidas, Cayugas, Onondagas and Senecas, later joined by the Tuscaroras about 1710, dominated all the surrounding tribes and maintained a Pax Iroquoia that in their most heroic days had extended from what is now New England to the Illinois region and from the Ottawa River to the Chesapeake Bay.

The Indians of these Six Nations lived in good houses, built walled towns for their protection, wore adequate clothing, developed a custom of steam baths, and supported themselves by the cultivation of the "three sisters," corn, beans and squash, and with fish, nuts, berries and venison from lakes and woods.

In war, their lack of numbers was made up for by discipline and by skilled leadership.

But it was not by force alone that the Iroquois Confederacy held this vast region under their League of Peace.

Behind their statesmanship, lay a will for peace among the people. They knew that real peace must be based on justice and a healthy reasonableness. Peace would endure only if men recognized the sovereignty of a common law.

How the Great Peace Came to the Five Nations

A messenger from the Great Spirit stood before the grandmother of Deganawidah in a dream and said,

"It is the will of the Master of Life that thy daughter, a virgin, shall bear a child. He shall be called Deganawidah, the Master of Things, for he brings with him the Good News of Peace and Power."

"What is the child's office to be?" asked the grandmother.

"His office is to bring peace and life to the people on earth," replied the messenger. "See that thou place no obstacle in his way when he desires to leave home to spread the New Mind among the nations."

So when Deganawidah was become a man, he said to his mother and grandmother,

"I shall now build my canoe for the time has come for me to set out on my mission in the world. I must seek the council smokes of nations beyond this lake for it is my business to stop the shedding of blood among human beings."

When Deganawidah had built his canoe, he showed it to his grandmother.

"This canoe will not float," said his grandmother, "for it is built of white stone."

"It will float," said Deganawidah, "for this shall be a sign that my words are true."

So Deganawidah got into his canoe and took up his paddle and the canoe moved very swiftly out onto the lake.

Now for many days Deganawidah paddled over the Beautiful Great Lake which white men call Lake Ontario until he came to the land of the Iroquois. At that time the Five Nations of the Iroquois were all at war with one another and with other tribes who lived near them. As Deganawidah neared the shore he saw the figures of men running so he made land swiftly and, beaching his canoe, climbed the bank and stood before them. Looking about him he saw that the land was bare of cornfields.

"Is there no settlement here?" he asked.

"We are hunters," the men replied. "We have come away from our settlement because there was strife in it and men were killing each other."

"Go back to your village," said Deganawidah. "Tell your chief that the Good News of Peace and Power has come. Tell him there will be no more strife in the settlement. If he asks whence peace is to come, tell him it will come."

"Who are you?" asked the hunters.

"I am Deganawidah," he replied. "I come from the west and I go toward the sunrise."

Then Deganawidah returned to his canoe and taking up his paddle, moved swiftly out onto the lake and the hunters saw that the canoe was made of white stone.

So the hunters went back to their chief and told him, "The Good News of Peace and Power has come."

"What is this you are saying?" said the chief.

"There shall be no more strife in the settlement," replied the hunters.

"Who told you this?" asked the chief.

"Deganawidah told us," said the hunters. "He came from the west and he goes toward the sunrise. His canoe is built of white stone and it moves very swiftly over the water."

Then the chief began to wonder at the news. The people in his village were at war with those in other villages. Within the stockade all were hungry and quarreling among themselves.

"Whence can peace come?" asked the chief.

"Deganawidah told us it will come," replied the hunters.

"Truly, this is a wonderful thing," said the chief. "If once men believe it, such news in itself will bring peace to the settlement and all men will be glad to know that this thing will be."

So Deganawidah passed from settlement to settlement finding that all men desired peace and would practice it if they knew for a certainty that others would practice it too.

After leaving the hunters, Deganawidah came to the house of a woman who fed the warriors who passed her door on their way from the east to the west. The woman placed food before Deganawidah and after he had eaten asked him his message.

"My message will bring an end to the wars between the east and the west," replied Deganawidah.

"How will this be?" asked the woman.

"The Word that I bring," said Deganawidah, "is that all people shall love one another and live together in peace."

"Thy message is good," said the woman, "but a word is nothing until it is given form and comes to dwell among men. What form will this message take?"

"It will take the form of the Longhouse," said Deganawidah, "in which there are many fires, one for each family, yet all live together in peace under one house mother.

There are Five Nations, each with its own council fire, yet they shall all live together in peace. They shall have one mind and shall live under one law."

"This is indeed a good message," said the woman. "I take hold of it. I embrace it."

"Now it shall come to pass," said Deganawidah, "that women shall possess the titles of chiefship. They shall name the chiefs. And because thou, my mother, wert the first to accept the Good News of Peace and Power and because in thy face I see the New Mind, thou shalt be known as the Mother of Nations."

"Where wilt thou first take thy message?" asked the woman.

"I go toward the sunrise," replied Deganawidah.

"That way is dangerous," said the woman. "On that way stands the house of a man who eats humans."

"I am come to bring such evils to an end," said Deganawidah, "so that all men may go from place to place without fear."

When Deganawidah came to the house of the "man who eats humans" he climbed to the roof and lay flat on his chest beside the smoke hole and looked straight down. Now the man came home carrying a human body in his arms and put it into a great kettle on the fire. As he bent over the kettle, he saw the reflection of a face looking up at him. It was Deganawidah's face looking down through the smoke hole but the man thought it was his own. In the face the man saw justice and wisdom and strength. As he had never dreamed he possessed these things, the man sat down and began to think.

"This is a wonderful thing," he said, "I have lived in this house a long time and I did not know I looked like that. It was a great man who looked at me out of the kettle. It was my own face and in it I saw righteousness and wisdom and justice. But it was not the face of a man who eats humans. I see that it is not like me to do that."

So he took the kettle out of the house and emptied it by the roots of an upturned tree.

"Now I have changed my habits," said the man, "I no longer kill humans and eat them but that is not enough, the mind is more difficult to change. I cannot forget the suffering I have caused. I am become miserable."

So the man went back to his house and there he met Deganawidah who had come down off the roof.

"Today I have seen a strange thing," said the man. "I saw a face looking at me out of the kettle in the house where I live. It was my own face but it was not the face of a man who does the things I have done. I am become miserable."

"Truly," said Deganawidah, "the New Mind has come to thee. Thou art miserable because the New Mind of Righteousness and

Health and Power cannot live at ease with old memories. Heal thy memories by working to make justice prevail. Bring peace to those places where thou hast done injury to men.

"Thou shalt work with me in advancing the Good News of Peace and Power."

"That is a good message," said the man. "I take hold of it. Now what is there for us both to do?"

"First let us eat together," said Deganawidah. "Do thou go to the stream and fetch water for the kettle. But dip with the current. One must never go against the forces of nature."

Then Deganawidah went into the woods and brought back a deer on his shoulders.

After they had eaten they sat down across the fire from each other.

"What shall the new order be called," asked the man, "when all have the New Mind?"

"It shall be called the Great Peace or the Great Law," replied Deganawidah. "Men shall live together as in the Longhouse. They shall live in peace because they live under one law."

Now not far from that place lived a chief of the Onondagas who was a great wizard and evil. His name was Atotarho. He had a twisted body and a twisted mind and his hair was a mass of tangled snakes.

"Thou shalt visit this man Atotarho," said Deganawidah. "He is of thy people the Onondagas. He is ugly but we need him. When he asks thee for thy message, say, 'It is Righteousness and Health and Power and that when men take hold of it they will stop killing one another and live in peace'."

"He will not listen to thee and will drive thee away but thou shalt come to him again and at last prevail.

"Thou shalt be called Hiawatha, He Who Combs, for thou shalt comb the snakes out of Atotarho's hair."

Then Deganawidah took his course toward the sunrise to the land of the Mohawks. He made camp and in the evening sat beneath a tall tree and smoked his pipe. A man passing by saw him and asked,

"Who art thou?"

"I am Deganawidah," he said. "I am sent to establish the Great Peace among you."

"There is no peace here," said the man, "but I will take thee to my village and thou shalt explain thy message to the people."

So Deganawidah presented the Good News of Peace and Power, of Reason and Law, to the Mohawks and the people were glad for they found it a good message but their chiefs held back.

"What this man says is good," said the chief warrior, "but is it true? Let him give us a sign. Let him climb to the top of a tall tree by the falls and we will cut it down over the cliff. If he lives to see the sunrise, we will accept his message."

Deganawidah climbed the tree to the topmost branch. Then the Mohawks cut the tree down and it fell over the cliff into the water. The people watched but there was no sign of Deganawidah.

Next morning before sunrise, a man of the Mohawks saw at a little distance across the cornfields, a column of smoke rising. Seated by the fire was Deganawidah.

So the people of the village went out and brought Deganawidah back to the place of council

"This is a great man," said the chief warrior, "I am in doubt no longer. Let us accept his message." "Let us take hold of the Good News of Peace and Power."

Then said Deganawidah, "As the new sun rises and takes its course in the sky, so shall the New Mind prevail and your children and your grandchildren shall live under the sky without fear."

Thus the Mohawks were the first nation to take hold of the Great Peace. They were the founders of the League.

Meanwhile Hiawatha had met failure among the Onondagas. The people accepted the New Mind but three times Hiawatha called a council and three times the evil power of Atotarho rushed out to meet them and the councils were dissolved. Some of the Onondagas approaching in their canoes were drowned. Others were set to fighting among themselves. When his three daughters died and his wife was trampled to death, grief overcame Hiawatha and he left the land of the Onondagas.

Camping by the Tully Lakes, Hiawatha picked up shells from the lake bottom and threaded them on strings of jointed rushes as a mark of his grief.

At night when he built his fire, he held the strings in his hand and said,

"If I found anyone burdened with grief as I am, I would take these strings in my hand and the strings would become words and I would console them."

But when at night he came near a settlement and the smoke of his fire was seen at the wood's edge, no one came to console him.

So Hiawatha built a canoe and paddled down the Mohawk River and built his fire at the wood's edge and that night Deganawidah came to him.

"I wipe away the tears from thy face," said Deganawidah. "I make it daylight for thee When thine eyes rest on the sky thou shalt do thy thinking in peace."

Thus was Hiawatha's mind cleared of his grief.

"Now," said Deganawidah, "thou art ready to advance the New Mind. Let us together make the laws of the Great Peace which shall abolish war."

So when the Great Law was completed, for each item a string or belt of wampum was provided so they might remember it easily. And Deganawidah and Hiawatha carried the words of the Great Peace to the nations of the west; the Oneidas, the Cayugas and the Senecas.

As they went they sang the peace hymn; Hail, Hail, Hail, To the Great Peace bring we greeting.

And this song is still sung today.

Accompanied by the chiefs of the Mohawks, Deganawidah and Hiawatha had found the Oneidas and the Cayugas and the Senecas all glad to take hold of the Great Peace.

"Now," said Deganawidah, "we must seek the fire and look for the smoke of Atotarho for he alone stands across our path."

So Deganawidah returned to Onondaga Lake and assembled the chiefs of the Four Nations beside it. Then leaving the chiefs, Deganawidah and Hiawatha put their canoe into the lake and dipped their paddles. The wind blew and the waves struck angrily against the canoe and they could hear Atotarho's cry rush out to meet them but they beached their canoe and climbed the bank and stood before him.

"Behold," said Hiawatha, "we two are come."

"Why do you come?" asked Atotarho.

"We bring the words of the Great Peace and the Great Law," replied Deganawidah. "All men shall live in peace for all men shall live under the Great Law."

"What is that to me?" asked Atotarho.

"Thou thyself shall tend the Council Fire of the Five Nations," said Deganawidah, "that fire that never dies and the smoke shall rise to heaven and all men shall see it."

"Who will bring this about?" asked Atotarho.

"Thou thyself shall bring it about if it is thy desire to bring justice and peace to all people," said Deganawidah, "for thou shalt be chief of all the Five Nations."

"Of course I desire these things," said Atotarho. "But thou art a dreamer. Where is the power to bring this to pass? The time is not yet."

Then Deganawidah and Hiawatha went back across the lake to where the chiefs of the Mohawks and the Oneidas and the Cayugas and the Senecas stood waiting for them.

"Make haste," said Deganawidah, "this is the time."

They put their canoes into the water and the wind lifted the waves against the canoes but they put their strength into the paddles and came to the beach where stood Atotarho.

"Behold," said Deganawidah, "here is power. These are the chiefs of the Five Nations. Their strength is greater than thy strength. But their voice shall be thy voice when thou speakest in council and all men shall hear thee for thy strength shall be the will of a united people."

Then the mind of Atotarho was made straight and Hiawatha combed the snakes out of his hair.

Deganawidah laid his hand on the body of Atotarho.

"The work is finished," he said, "for now thou too hast the New Mind. Thou shalt preside over the Great Council of the Five Nations. In all thy ways thou shalt strive to make justice and reason and peace prevail. Thy voice shall be the voice of the Great Law and all men shall hear thy voice and find peace."

Then Deganawidah placed antlers on the heads of the chiefs in sign of their authority and gave them the Words of the Law.

The Great Indian Confederacy of the Iroquois provided a model for the transformation of the thirteen colonies into the United States of America.

"It would be a strange thing," wrote Benjamin Franklin, "if six nations of ignorant savages should be capable of forming a scheme for such a union and be able to execute it in such a manner that it has subsisted ages and appears indissoluble; and yet that a like union should be impracticable for ten or a dozen English colonies to whom it is more necessary and must be more advantageous and who cannot be supposed to lack an equal understanding of their interests."

great indians

RED JACKET SPEAKS

24

Indians' God Not Primitive

By LOUIS CASSELS
United Press International

White late-comers to the Western Hemisphere, since the time of Columbus, have tended to look down on Indians as a primitive people with a primitive concept of God.

This hoary libel would not have endured if white men had made a real study of Indian religion.

But they were so busy preaching to the "savages" whose continent they were raping that they rarely stopped to wonder whether red men might have something worthwhile to say to them in return.

Here is Black Elk's prayer, reproduced by permission:

"Grandfather, great mysterious one, you have been always, and before you nothing has been.

"There is nothing to pray to but you.

"The star nations all over the universe are yours, and yours are the grasses of the Earth.

"Day in, day out, you are the life of things—

"You are older than all need, older than all pain and prayer.

"Grandfather, all over the world the faces of living ones are alike. In tenderness they have come up out of the ground.

"Look upon your children with children in their arms, that they may face the winds and walk the good road to the day of quiet.

"Teach me to walk the soft earth, a relative to all that live.

"Sweeten my heart, and fill me with light.

"Give me strength to understand and the eyes to see.

"Help me, for without you, I am nothing."

If Black Elk's concept of God is primitive, we should all be so primitive.

Deganawidah's Message
to the Great Iroquois Confederacy

"The word that I bring is that all people shall love one another and live together in peace.

"This message has three parts: Righteousness, Health and Power."

Righteousness means justice practiced between men and between nations. It also means a desire on the part of men that justice shall prevail.

Health means soundness of mind and body; it also means peace, for that is what comes when minds are sane and bodies cared for.

Power means authority, the authority of law and custom, backed by such force as is necessary to make justice prevail. It means also religion for justice enforced is the will of the Holder of the Heavens and has his sanction.

Hearken, O chiefs, that peace may continue unto future days.

The cause of peace shall not die, if you remember the Great Spirit, the Holder of the Heavens.

Have courage, patience, and honesty. Think not so much of present advantage as the future welfare of the people.

When you administer the Law, your skins must be seven thumbs thick so the magic darts of your enemies may not penetrate them.

Be of strong mind, O chiefs, carry no anger, and hold no grudges. Think not forever of yourselves nor of your own generation. Think of those yet unborn whose faces are coming from beneath the ground.

Deganawidah's Last Message

If men should ever become indifferent to the League of Peace, or if the Great Peace should fail, call upon my name in the deep woods and I will return.

Deganawidah's Message
Some Other Things He Told His People

(1) "We bind ourselves together," said Deganawidah, "by taking hold of each other's hands so firmly and forming a circle so strong that if a tree should fall upon it, it would not break. And so our people and grand-children shall remain in the circle in security, health and happiness."

(2) "Our strength shall be in union and our way the way of reason, righteousness and peace."

(3) "The Five Council Fires shall continue to burn as before and they shall not be quenched."

(Each of the Five Nations was to retain its sovereignty)

(4) Tying a bundle of arrows together with deer sinews, Deganawidah said,

"I have made this tight. I say to you that it will not be right for one of the several nations to pull out its arrow,"

(No one of the Five Nations might make war on its own account)

(5) We shall have one dish, in it shall be placed one beaver's tail and we all shall have co-equal right to it.

(Lakes, rivers and hunting grounds were to be open to all.)

Some Other Things Deganawidah
Told His People

In the Great Council, discussion might not be prolonged after nightfall.

If a proposition was of great importance it might not be discussed the same day it was received in council.

These rights were so entrenched in popular custom that no guarantees were necessary: Freedom of speech, Freedom of religion, the Rights of man.

But one freedom was not permitted to the Five Nations: Liberty to destroy their own liberties.

In 1805, a young, and unwise missionary, was sent into the Six Nations district and made an introductory address to the people concerning his doctrines. Red Jacket, a Seneca chieftain replied. Read, and reflect.

"Friend and Brother: It was the will of the Great Spirit that we should meet together this day. He orders all things, and has given us a fine day for our council. He has taken his garment from before the sun and caused it to shine with brightness upon us. For all these things we thank the Great Ruler, and Him *only!*

"Brother, this council-fire was kindled by you. It was at your request that we came together at this time. We have listened with joy to what you have said. You requested us to speak our minds freely. This gives us great joy, for we now consider that we stand upright before you and can speak what we think. All have heard your voice and can speak to you as one man. Our minds are agreed.

"Brother, listen to what we say. There was a time when our forefathers owned this great island. Their seats extended from the rising to the setting sun. The Great Spirit had made it for the use of Indians. He had created the buffalo, the deer and other animals for food. He had made the bear and the beaver. Their skins served us for clothing. He had scattered them over the country and taught us how to take them. He had caused the earth to produce corn for bread. All this he had done for his red children because he loved them. If we had some disputes about our hunting-ground, they were generally settled without the shedding of much blood. But an evil day came upon us. Your forefathers crossed the great water and landed upon this island. Their numbers were small. They found us friends and not enemies. They told us they had fled from their own country on account of wicked men, and had come here to enjoy their religion. They asked for a small seat. We took pity on them and granted their request, and they sat down amongst us. We gave them corn and meat; they gave us poison (rum) in return.

"The white people, brother had now found our country. Tidings were carried back, and more came amongst us. Yet we did not fear them. We took them to be friends. They called us brothers; we believed them, and gave them a larger seat. At length their numbers had greatly increased. They wanted more land; they wanted our country. Our eyes were opened, and our minds became uneasy. Wars took place. Indians were hired to fight against Indians, and many of our people were destroyed. They also brought strong liquor amongst us. It was strong and powerful and has slain thousands.

"Brother, our seats were once large, and yours were small. You have now become a great people, and we have scarcely a place left to spread our blankets. You have got our country, but are not satisfied you want to force your religion upon us.

"Brother, continue to listen. You say that you are sent to instruct us how to worship the Great Spirit agreeable to his mind; and if we do not take hold of the religion which you white people teach, we shall be unhappy hereafter. You say that you are right, and we are lost. How do we know this to be true? We understand that your religion is written in a book. If it was intended for us as well as you, why has not the Great Spirit given to us - and not only to us, but to our forefathers - the knowledge of that book, with the means of understanding it rightly? We only know what you tell us about it. How shall we know when to believe, being so often deceived by the white people?

"Brother, you say there is but one way to worship and serve the Great Spirit. If there is but one religion, why do you white people differ so much about it? Why not all agree as you can all read the book?

"Brother, we do not understand these things. We are told that your religion was given to your forefathers, and has been handed down from father to son. We, also have a religion which was given to our forefathers, and has been handed down to us, their children. We worship in that way. It teaches us to be thankful for all favours we receive; to love each other, and be united. We never quarrel about religion, because it is a matter which concerns each man and the Great Spirit.

"Brother, we do not wish to destroy your religion or take it from you; we only want to enjoy our own.

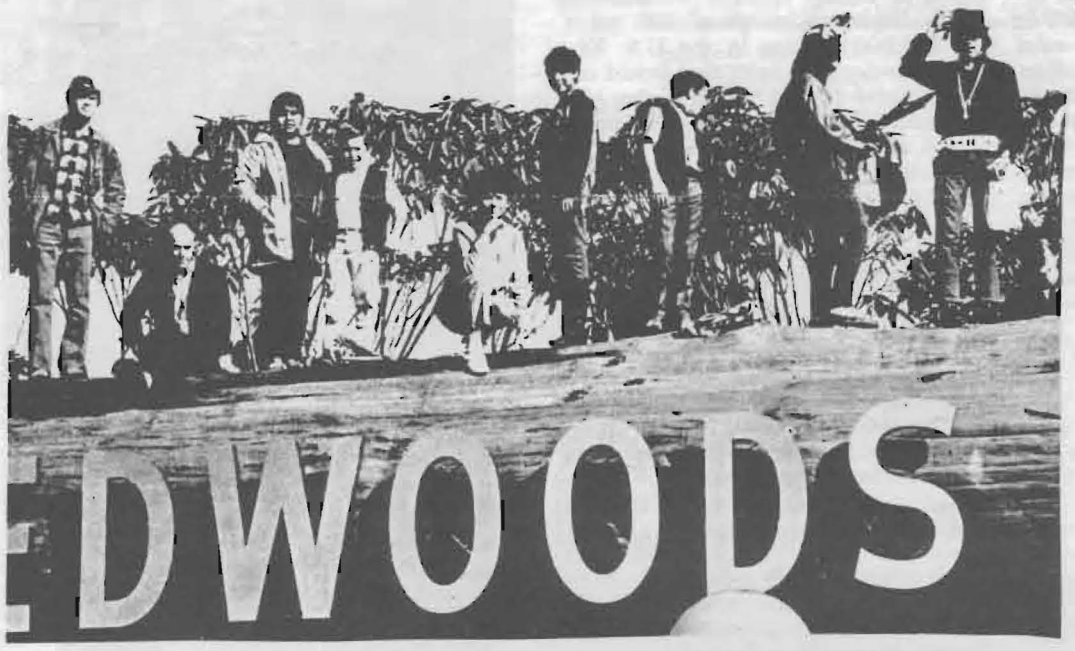
"Brother, we have been told that you have been preaching to the white people in this place. These people are our neighbors. We are acquainted with them. We will wait a little while and see what effect your preaching has upon them. If we find it does them good, makes them honest and less disposed to cheat Indians, we will consider again of what you have said.

"Brother, you have now heard our talk, and this is all we have to say at present. As we are going to part, we will come and take you by the hand, and hope the Great Spirit will protect you on your journey, and return you safely to your friends."

According to the suggestion of their orator, the Indians moved forward to shake hands with the missionary; but he refused, saying, "There was no fellowship between the religion of God and the Devil."

PUNCH, January 28 1970

"Madam, as I will explain later, in missionary work we use every method we can."



College Elementary School
October 29, 1969

Dear Friends,

Thank you very much for coming to our School and teaching us some things we didn't know. I just wish the whole world thought about peace the same way you do.

Warmest regards
John Goodrich
6th grd,

Dear Friends,

Thank you very much for coming To our School and Teaching us. some things we didn't know. I just wish The whole world would have no more wars.

Warmest Regards,
Toby Zwerdling

Dear Good Brothers and Sisters,

I want to tell you how much your program ment to me. Your message of peace and unity was simply beautiful. It gave me a good warmth deep down inside of me. Dont you wish all Life could be that way?

I thought that stories were very meaningful. Your whole program gave me an under standing of what the peace means to me. I feel so open and good I feel I love you for what you have given to me. So until we meet again with Love,

God Bless you,
Julie Nichai

Dear Friends,

I loved the singing, dancing, and the story was very interesting. I really mean this, I really do. It's probably the first and only time I'll ever have seen anything like that.

Best Wishes
Deborah Russell

P.S.

If you can
PLEASE come again!

Traditional Iroquois Indians

speeches

"This land of North America is Indian land. The Creator put us here. The white man is welcome to live with us on our land only if he respects the earth, our mother, and treats her as his own mother. If he doesn't he will be asked to leave."

With these words a young Mohawk Indian, Tom Porter, informed Humboldt County audiences on October 29 of what is quickly becoming the unified demand of all those Indians supporting the new militant approach of what some call the "Red Power Movement." These North American Indians are in fact delivering an "ecological ultimatum" to the white man. Their appearance here was part of their nationwide search for allies in the struggle against the pollution of the earth and the colonial rule of those who profit from pollution.

Porter spoke to groups at Hoopa, Humboldt State, and College of the Redwoods in a program called the "White Roots of Peace" presented by a group of thirteen Indians from all over North America. The title comes from an Iroquois legend about the planting of a giant Tree of Peace by the Creator over a pit filled with the weapons of the six Iroquois tribes who vowed never to fight each other again. The Iroquois United Nations was a major source, via Benjamin Franklin, for the Articles of Confederation.

traditional dances

Several of the Indians in the group come from Akwesasne, the St. Regis Reservation on the U.S.-Canadian border near Cornwall, N.Y. In December 1968 the Akwesasne Indians blocked the International Bridge with stalled automobiles to protest the violation of the Jay Treaty of 1794 which provides for free passage of Indians between the two countries.

Jerry Gambill discussed the film shown at HSC about that confrontation that resulted in scores of arrests of Indian demonstrators. The film startled many viewers because of its militancy, and at another showing elsewhere the hosts pulled the projector plug midway through the showing, Gambill said.

"Many ask us why we call our program "the White Roots of Peace" when our film depicts violence," he said. "We are a peaceful people, but we are also a strong people, and we will stand up for what we believe."

At College of the Redwoods the introduction was given in the Mohawk language by thirteen-year old Steven Boots and then translated by Tom Porter. Porter and Boots explained the reverence that Indians feel toward the earth and their land and their deep concern that industrial America was arrogantly destroying the environment.

"When we have polluted the last stream," Porter said, "Poisoned the last fish, killed the last deer, then and only then will we realize we cannot eat all the money in the bank."

"Our troubles come when we put ourselves above nature instead of realizing we are just a part of it. This is the arrogance of man."

films

Porter told of the intrusion of religious missionaries into Indian life bringing foreign concepts of "Heathen Indians" and preaching blind obedience to white man's laws and values. With great humour he told how these missionaries, however, found it impossible to agree with each other on what those truths were precisely, since they called each other "liar" so readily. At one point Porter took a Mormon missionary, who like all the others revered a "Big Black Book," over to the window where the sunlight burst through clouds onto the green hills. "This is our book," Porter told him. "There are flowers on every page. The message in it is to let us be free and happy. Do not spoil the land or pollute the rivers. Then we can call each other brother."

WHITE ROOTS OF PEACE IS INTERESTED IN MEETING WITH INDIAN GROUPS AND COMMUNITIES, COLLEGE STUDENTS, AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN INDIAN MATTERS. Write Jerry Gambill, Box 435, Rooseveltown, New York 13683.

White Roots of Peace Air Ideas & Customs

By TERRY ELLIS

This weekend BU students will have a chance to update the past as they learn of the American Indians situation of the present.

This plains Indian is in the grip of frontiersman Daniel Boone. Maltreatment of the Indians is one of the subjects the White Roots for Peace group will talk about

White Roots of Peace, a North American Indian communications group, will provide this opportunity as they bring their traditions, their views on peace and ecology, and their hopes for creating a better Indian/non-Indian understanding to campus.

The troop of nine persons, including speakers, dancers and singers will begin their program Saturday at 2 p.m. in Swartz Lounge where a discussion will be held on the Indian's World View.

At 8 p.m. that evening, a festival of Indian films followed by communal dancing will be held in Vaughan Lit Auditorium. The group stresses, however, that they are not entertainers and that they do not put on a show; rather they encourage everyone to dance with them in a circle of unity.

Their visit will end Monday morning at 8 a.m. with a general discussion in Coleman Auditorium.

A group of approximately ten Bucknell students, along with Professors Cushman and Drinnon, have already prepared for the Indians' arrival through publicity, scheduling and accomodations. One project with which they hope to create interest is a teepee constructed in the middle of the quad (purely white-man's work).

While on campus, the majority of the Indian group will be staying in their own trailer, the rest will stay with students and professors.

Perhaps such enthusiasm is the beginning of the understanding White Roots of Peace is hoping to create.

THE BUCKNELLIAN
MARCH 13, 1970

It's interesting to note that the White Roots of Peace group are not backed by any organization and depend upon their visitations for hospitality and financing. They have made some appearances and received only a good meal, other appearances have been on a pass-the-hat basis, and still others have been for honoraria

The White Roots of Peace group has travelled very extensively across the country. They have met with the Chickahominy, Choctaw, Cherokee, Coushatta, and the Pueblo people in New Mexico since January 1970.

Last fall the visited the Pomos, Hoopas, Shoshones, Paiutes, and other Indians of California. They have had meetings at the University of Florida, Utah, California and Washington and about 40 other campuses during the past five months.

They are visiting Indian groups to establish Indian unity, Indian strength, and the vitality of Indian tradition. For non-Indian groups, they hope to bring understanding of Indian non-Indian relationships, of Indian ways of peace, and of the need for better treatment of mother Earth. With their current interest in ecology, intergroup relationships, peace, and Indian matters, their message is very timely.

The group's name, "White Roots of Peace," comes from a tradition concerning the Tree of Peace. From it grows four white roots, reaching out to the four corners of the world, by which all men may find their way to peace.

The Indians said the purpose of their tour is "an attempt to bring about Indian unity and strength, and to restore vitality for the old traditions. When we meet with other (non-Indian) groups, we try to show them the Indian way to peace."

Long Prayer

The program began with a long prayer, delivered in the native language by a Mohawk member of the group. (The Iroquois Nation is a federation of several tribes.) Another member gave a translation, explaining that tradition dictated all gatherings open with the prayer.

The prayer summarized the Indian feeling of oneness with their environment. It gave thanks to Mother Earth, Father Sun, Brothers Fire, Trees, Birds, Flowers, Grass, Water... all things which the Great Spirit created, for continuing to function as He had commanded them.

The prayer told of the Indian belief that all things on earth are living, products of the hand of the creator, and therefore good. "If you are a black man, a yellow man, a red man, a white man," the translator said, "hold your head high, stand tall and be proud. That is the way the creator made you, and it is good."

The six Mohawks came from St. Regis, Canada, called Akwesasne in their tongue. Also touring with the group was a Cree from Alberta, Canada, an Onondaga from Syracuse, N.Y. and Choctaw from Mississippi. All were attired in traditional Indian clothing.

The group performed several of their dances, with vocal, drum, and rattle accompaniment, and invited the audience to join them. All but a few of the crowd of about 75 joined in.

Indian Films

Two films were also shown, both created by an Indian film company. "The Ballad of Crowfoot" is a series of old photographs, most from the 1800's, of North American Indians and the white men they encountered. It is accompanied by a folk song discribing the plight of the Indian, then and today.

Cultural Genocide Warning Is Voiced by Indian Group

By KATHY MASON

Warning against "cultural genocide" of the American and Canadian Indian and spreading unity to all people is the purpose of a group of eastern and Canadian Indians traveling around New Mexico.

Objective of the "White Roots of Peace" organization, a spokesman said, is to teach peace, love and unity to all people and to preserve the traditional way of life of the Indians.

THE GROUP of nine Indians, mostly from the Mohawk nation of the Iroquois confederacy in upstate New York and Canada, say they are fulfilling the Iroquois prophecy that four white roots will spread to all corners of the earth "teaching the great love of peace."

Richard Laughing, who calls himself by his Indian name Kalonwhiio. said the group fulfills the prophecy by speaking to any Indian and educational groups who are willing to listen.

The Angry American Indian: Starting Down the Protest Trail

MOST Americans know the first Americans only by cliché. There is the 19th century image, caught in bronze and in lithograph, of the defeated warrior, head drooping forward so that his feathers nearly mingle with his pony's mane. The bow of his shoulders and the slump of his body evoke his loss of pride, of green and fertile lands, of earth's most favored continent. Then there is a recent image, often seen through air-conditioned automobile windows. Grinning shyly, the fat squaw hawks her woven baskets along the reservation highway, the dusty landscape littered with rusting cars, crumbling wickiups and bony cattle. In the bleak villages, the only signs of cheer are romping, round-faced children and the invariably dirty, crowded bar, noisy with the shouts and laughter of drunkenness.

Like most stereotypes, these caricatures possess a certain core of validity. They also help white America contain and numb the reality of past guilt and present injustice. Most important of all, they are less and less significant. After more than a century of patience and passivity, the nation's most neglected and isolated minority is astir, seeking the means and the muscle for protest and redress. Sometimes highly educated, sometimes speaking with an articulateness forged of desperation, always angry, the new American Indian is fed up with the destitution and publicly sanctioned abuse of his long-divided people. He is raising his voice and he intends to be heard. Listen:

"The next time whites try to illegally clear our land, perhaps we should get out and shoot the people in the bulldozers," contends Michael Benson, a 19-year-old Navajo and a freshman at Wesleyan University.

"It's time that Indians got off their goddam asses and stopped letting white people lead them around by their noses," says Lehman Brightman, a South Dakota Sioux now working on a Ph.D. at Berkeley. "Even the name Indian is not ours. It was given to us by some dumb honky who got lost and thought he'd landed in India."

"We weren't meant to be tourist attractions for the master race," scoffs Gerald Wilkinson, 30, a Cherokee who holds multiple degrees after attending four universities. "We don't use the language of the New Left, but that doesn't mean we're not militant."

"Some day you're going to feel like Custer, baby," shouted one unidentified Indian at Donald Dwyer, a former Minneapolis police chief recently invited to discuss city problems with a group of Minneapolis Indians.

Symbolic Protest

That kind of rhetoric is surprising, coming from people long accustomed to equating silence with dignity. But in acts as well as speech, the newly aroused Indian is no longer content to play the obsequious Tonto to the white man's Lone Ranger. A belligerent band of 100 Indians still occupies the abandoned federal prison at Alcatraz, which the Indians propose to use as a cultural center and are willing to buy—for "$24 in glass beads and red cloth." Says one of the invaders: "Alcatraz is still better than most reservations." Angered at the whites who litter their beaches with beer cans and broken bottles, Indians in the state of Washington set up road blocks and closed 50 miles of seashore. A group of 50 Passamaquoddy Indians in Maine charged motorists fees to pass through their land on a busy highway last July. Four Indians at Dartmouth College, which was founded partly "for civilizing and christianizing Children of Pagans," protested the Indian dress of the college mascot, and officials banished it from football games.

Going beyond such symbolic acts, Indians in Washington have deliberately violated fishing regulations that they consider a breach of their rights, and have gone to jail as a result. One of their leaders, Janet McCloud, a fiery Tulalip, contends that restrictions on catching salmon have reduced the Indian to "savages with no more rights than a bear." More softly, she concedes: "I don't like being a clown or a militant, but sometimes you have to break this conspiracy of silence." Another angry woman, Kahn Tineta Horn, effectively uses a trim figure in a tight buckskin dress to gain television attention for protest demonstrations. But sex is not her only weapon; she has been arrested for carrying a knife and for interfering with police.

Harassment by police is the target of a sophisticated Indian uprising in Minneapolis, which has one of the few Indian ghettos in any city. There Clyde Bellecourt, 33, a tough Chippewa who has spent 14 years behind bars, has organized an "Indian Patrol." Dressed in red jackets, its members use short-wave radios to follow police activity, then show up to observe the cops silently whenever an Indian gets into trouble. After the patrol was formed, there were no arrests of Indians for 22 straight weekends. Ironically, it was during a prison term for burglary that Bellecourt decided he could help other Indians. "I read a lot of books," he says, "and I started finding out that I wasn't a savage, that I wasn't dirty—and that I was smart." For his work, he is paid a salary by the Urban Coalition.

The new Indian activism is gradually beating its way into the nation's consciousness—and into its conscience. In ways both salutary and shabby, Indians are becoming fashionable. As *The New Yorker's* Calvin Trillin recently observed: "It is almost possible to hear the drums in the East Sixties."

The Indian is spicing his protest with a grim kind of humor. His slogans proclaim: KEMO SABE MEANS HONKY, RED POWER!, and CUSTER HAD IT COMING. More stingingly, Indian Folk Singer Buffy Sainte-Marie, a Cree with a degree in education and Oriental philosophy, confronts white audiences with pointed lyrics:

When a war between nations is lost
The loser, we know, pays the cost;
But even when Germany fell to your hands
You left them their pride and you left them their land.

The national abuse of the Indian reached Broadway last year as the subject of serious drama. Arthur Kopit's *Indians* played only twelve weeks; some critics considered it noisy, disorganized theater; some audiences seemed to find the penitential message discomfiting. A pro-Indian movie, *Little Big Man*, starring Dustin Hoffman, has been filmed on Montana's Crow reservation. It portrays George Custer as a villain leading troops bent on genocide. Three books personalizing Indian alienation have won critical acclaim. A novel, *House Made of Dawn*, by N. Scott Momaday, a Kiowa who teaches English at Berkeley, won a Pulitzer prize last year. *Custer Died for Your Sins*, by Vine Deloria, a Standing Rock Sioux, wryly details the Indians' own infighting and their frustrations in dealing with white society. *Our Brother's Keeper: The Indian in White America* angrily indicts whites for keeping the Indian a stranger in his homeland—"America's prisoner of war."

On the fad level, a budding renaissance of Indian cultural accouterments has inspired pot-smoking teen-agers and high-fashion socialites to don beaded necklaces, fringed jackets, Indian belts, bikinis and feathers. Most Indians scoff at the affectation and claim that much of the clothing is foreign made.

The Handicap of Dignity

Why has it taken the Indian so long to rouse himself to turn his ire toward action? Many a white bureaucrat, ruling a reservation like a colonial army officer, has assumed that Indian acquiescence stemmed from either respect or servility. Rarely has it been either. The Indian nation was physically shattered and spiritually demoralized by the U.S. Cavalry, which systematically destroyed its leaders and the best of its manhood in the late 19th century campaigns that whites euphemistically call the pacification of the West. Long before the white man's arrival, Indian tribes had, of course, waged limited war upon one another over hunting rights, and raids for revenge were common.

Yet on a personal level, Indian culture shuns confrontation. Even the meeting of eyes and the firm handshake were long avoided. Discussions of personal problems are painful. Indians have been known to sit in Government offices for hours before deciding to air a grievance, however just. "My mother won't even get rid of a salesman," says the Navajos' Michael Benson.

For too long, Indian dissent also has been stifled by their forced dependency upon whites for land and livelihood. This has made many of them regard white authority as an almost magical thing. One veteran scholar of Arizona's Hopis, E. D. Newcomer, notes that today's young Hopis even "feel that the god of the whites must be better than their own gods, because the whites have new clothes and shiny cars."

Handicapped by their special definition of dignity and fractionalized by their allegiances to about 300 tribes, the 652,000 Indians in the U.S. have never developed a unity that would sustain massive protest.* "Remember, I'm not Indian, I'm Osage," declares Charles Lohah, an Oklahoma judge who finds political intrigue both within and among tribes fascinatingly complex. "Often we have to strap our shields to our backs," he says. But Indians have also watched the nation respond to the marches, sit-ins and street tactics of restive blacks. Indians feel little affinity with blacks, and there is friction between the races in some federal antipoverty programs; still, the Indians are beginning to demand their share of the action.

That demand is not only just but long overdue. Ford Foundation President McGeorge Bundy insists flatly that "the American Indians are by any measure save cultural heritage the country's most disadvantaged minority." After studying U.S. ill-treatment of the Indian 26 years ago, Swedish Sociologist Gunnar Myrdal described it as "a morality play of profound importance" to American history. He said that it "challenges the most precious assumptions about what this country stands for—cultural pluralism, freedom of conscience and action, and the pursuit of happiness." The morality play is still a bad show today.

The indicators of Indian suffering are appalling. Their life expectancy is 44 years, compared with 71 for white Americans. The average income for each Indian family living on a reservation—and more than half do—is only $1,500. The average years of schooling is 5.5, well behind that of both the black and the Mexican American. Some officials rate 90% of reservation housing as substandard. Unemployment ranges from a low of 20% on the more affluent reservations to 80% on the poorest. The birth rate of Indians is 2½ times that of whites—and a majority of Indians are under 20 years old. The average family has to carry water for its daily needs at least a mile. It is usually done afoot.

Indians, of course, are not statistics, and TIME Correspondent James Willwerth discovered that individual reality for Indians often consists of human deprivation in a setting of uplifting natural beauty. Visiting Arizona's White Mountain Apache reservation, he reported: "The land is like a painting—hills covered with ponderosa pine, snow-capped mountains in the distance, sprawling valleys filled with thick forests and rushing streams. In the midst of all this, there's a one-room shack with a corrugated metal roof that shows daylight from every angle. This is Judy's house. Judy is in her mid-20s, stocky but not fat, and rather pretty. But she drinks a lot, gets into fights when she does, and often ends up in jail.

"Her lovers are legion. The result of one liaison toddles toward me through broken glass and excrement. He's less than two years old. He lived with Judy's sister until recently, but Judy took him back to get some welfare money. Now they are living in this one-room place. 'It's got no windows,' she says. 'But that's nothing. I've never lived in a house with windows.' "

The grim individual vignettes are multiplied among entire tribes. In northern Arizona, twelve small villages of the deeply religious Hopis fight their uncertain struggle to avoid extinction. Reversing years of decline, the Hopis now number 6,000. Isolated for centuries, even their own villages still have no political links with one another. They live on three massive sandstone mesas in the Painted Desert, where pasture land is scarce and only their skillful dry-farming of corn provides a meager diet.

The sole tribal commerce of the Hopis is a trailer court and a few arts-and-crafts shops. Yet the hope of the Hopis lies in their determination to improve their condition. They teach their children to value schooling so highly that

* At the time of Columbus, the native population of what is now the U.S. was probably between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000. By 1860, that had dropped to about 340,000, and by 1910 to an all-time low of 220,000. No longer vanishing, the Indians are now the nation's fastest-growing minority.

MARTIN J. DAIN—A.A.I.A.

STAFFAN WENNBERG—BLACK STAR

GEORGE LAYCOCK—PHOTO RESEARCHERS

STAFFAN WENNBERG—BLACK STAR

"THE QUESTION IS NOT HOW YOU CAN AMERICANIZE US, BUT HOW WE CAN AMERICANIZE YOU"

TIME
THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE
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the average daily attendance in their elementary schools is a surprising 90% —a rarity among Indians. A score of older youngsters take a bus each day and make a 96-mile round trip to attend high school. Each day 50 adult Hopis get up at 5 a.m. to board a yellow bus and ride 65 miles to their jobs at a BVD underwear plant. Things may get better. Coal has been found on Hopi land, and a strip mine is scheduled to open this year. Ironically, the Hopi devotion to education is diluting what they value most: their own special kind of polytheistic belief that each living thing possesses a human spirit. Now, when elders hold their annual dance with rattlesnakes, many Hopi children laugh.

Agony and Anomie

To live in squalor while surrounded by beauty, to desire a better material life while clinging to tradition is, for American Indians, to know agony and anomie. Their alienation is aggravated by the fact that Indian culture is vastly different from that of whites in terms of technology, productivity and intellectual interests. From the viewpoint of what makes a modern civilization work, Indian culture appears hopelessly irrelevant. To some extent, the collision of Western and Indian cultures warped the conquerors' attitudes. When the Senecas sought assurances from President Thomas Jefferson in 1802 that their rights would be protected, no attempt was made to bridge the cultural gap. They received a patronizing note from a secretary that said: "Brothers, your father, the President, will at all times be your friend and he will protect you and all his red children from bad people." Only last fall Ted Rushton of New Mexico's Gallup *Independent* wrote haughtily of "the inevitable clash of a superior culture with a vastly inferior culture."

The Indian child who attends school with whites must brace himself for taunts: when it rains, he is told, "You must have done your dance." If he has a girl friend, he is asked: "How's your squaw?" Or it may be "Hey, Tonto, where's your horse?" and "What number is your teepee?" "Indian kids are shy, and can't take this," explains Gary Fife, 19, an Oklahoma Cherokee-Creek student at Northeastern State College.

Prejudice is as painful a fact to Indians as it is to blacks. Indians suffer just as harshly from biased history books. One text observes that "it is probably true that all the American Indian tribes in the course of their wandering lived for some generations on the frozen wastes of Alaska. This experience deadened their minds and killed their imagination and initiative." A white teacher in a Chippewa reservation school recently asked Indian children to write essays on "Why we are all happy the Pilgrims landed." Western movies and television, of course, still portray the Indian as the savage marauder. "How are you going to expect the Indian to feel a part of America when every television program shows him to be a brute or a stupid animal?" asks Ray Fadden, owner of a Mohawk museum in northern New York. On an Apache reservation, even an Indian girl was caught up in the TV drama. As an Indian actor crept up on an unsuspecting cowboy, the girl involuntarily shouted at the cowboy: "Get him! Get him!"

Indians smolder when the white operators of trading posts sell their Indian-crafted goods to tourists at 400% markups. They resent the white sportsmen who gun down caribou from airplanes, while their own hunting for lifesaving game is restricted by white laws. They become furious at the white shopkeepers' use of Indian religious symbols and bad portraits of Indian chiefs. Don Wilkerson, the Cherokee-Creek director of the Phoenix Indian Center, claims that a bar in Scottsdale, Ariz., has a huge picture of a great Indian chief on its roof as an advertising gimmick. "The Jewish people would not permit such treatment of one of their revered leaders," he says. "Nor would society allow Martin Luther King to be so humiliated."

Alcoholism and Suicide

Dispirited by poverty, rejected by a white culture in which they are often unable and unwilling to compete, many Indians choose death or drink. The suicide rate among Indian teen-agers is three times the national average; on some reservations it is ten times as high. Shattered by her parents' broken marriage, an 18-year-old Blackfoot girl not long ago killed herself on her Montana reservation with an overdose of tranquilizers, though she was an honor student. Accused of drinking during school hours, a 16-year-old youth on Idaho's Fort Hall Reservation hanged himself in the county jail. Just two days before, he had talked about conditions on the reservation with Senator Robert F. Kennedy.

Alcohol has long been a means of escape from boredom and pressures for Indians. On one Midwest reservation containing 4,600 adults, 44% of all the men and 21% of the women were arrested at least once for drunkenness in a span of three years. Many reservations have opened bars and liquor stores to keep Indians from killing themselves in auto accidents en route home from binges in the city. A much-repeated explanation quotes Bill Pensoneau, president of the National Indian Youth Council, as telling a new commissioner of Indian Affairs: "We drown ourselves in wine and smother ourselves in glue—because the only time we are free is when we're drunk."

The Paternalistic BIA

Sober or drunk, most Indians cite the Bureau of Indian Affairs when they lament their troubles. A unit of the Interior Department, it is supposed to help all native Americans under federal jurisdiction to achieve a better life, mainly by offering education and medical care and protecting their land, water and other treaty rights. More often, it suffocates Indians with its all-encompassing paternalistic authority. An Indian must have BIA permission to sell his land; he is taught by BIA teachers, and if he cannot support his children they may be taken from his home by the BIA and placed in boarding schools or with white foster parents. Most BIA employees are white.

The first Indian head of the BIA in this century was Robert Bennett, appointed by President Johnson in 1966 and admired by most moderate Indian leaders. An Oneida from Wisconsin and a career BIA man, Bennett resigned in dismay last July, charging that "the new Administration has completely ignored the Indians." His successor is Louis Bruce, part Mohawk and part Oglala Sioux, who seems just as frustrated as his people in dealing with the Great White Father. "I keep hearing terrible and sad things that are happening that I didn't know about." One trouble with the bureau, claims one of its most effective field men, is that it is overstaffed at top levels (there is one BIA employee for every 18 reservation Indians), and it takes three years to get new funds to pave a road. "We have created a monster," he says.

Indians have seen countless treaties broken, their lands diminished from 138 million acres in 1887 to 55 million acres today, their water diverted. They are convinced that the Government is determined eventually to dismiss the whole problem by terminating all reservations. Long a favorite white liberal policy, based on the assumption that all minorities will thrive by being assimilated into the mystical American melting pot, termination of the reservations is now heatedly rejected by nearly all Indian leaders. These Indians now want first to conserve all that is best of their own heritage, summed up in the slogan INTEGRITY, NOT INTEGRATION. They are thus moving in tandem with black groups that have rejected integration in favor of black power. Theoretically, at least, Indians have several advantages over the blacks in moving toward their goals. They have available a whole federal bureaucracy that professes to want the same end. While they lack national unity, their tribal traditions give them a sense of self-identity. And above all, they have their own lands.*

To Keep the Land

The fight to preserve those lands and the water required to make their acreage livable is a constant one for U.S. Indians. The Senecas are still bitter about the 10,000 acres taken in 1964 by the Army Corps of Engineers for the Kinzua Dam. The Senecas were paid $3,000,000, but to them land is no mere matter of money—it is a spiritual as well as a sustaining resource. The Tuscaroras of New York lost 553 acres to a reservoir in the late 1950s. They were paid $850,000, only to learn that nearby Niagara University got $5,000,000 for just 200 acres.

Currently, Indians in New Mexico, Montana and California are locked in battles with various Government agencies for control of land and water. The Paiutes of western Nevada have watched their emerald-green Pyramid Lake, ancient source of their cutthroat trout, shrink to one-third its former size by various water-diversion projects. The lake's ecological balance has been destroyed, and most of the fish have died.

The most dramatic controversy over native lands is one now raging over the ownership of 90% of the acreage of Alaska. Aided by some of the nation's best lawyers, including former Supreme Court Justice Arthur Goldberg and former Attorney General Ramsey Clark, 55,000 Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts contend that they hold title to the Alaskan land because the U.S. did not purchase it from Russia in 1867; it bought only the right to tax and govern the territory. When Alaska became a state in 1959, the state began to assert claim to the area. It has seized 450,000 acres for itself. The natives are willing to give up all except 40 million acres —10% of the state—at a price of $500 million and a 2% royalty on revenues from the surrendered lands. If they do not get satisfaction this time, the native groups calculate that they have sufficient legal options to tie up the land in court contests for years.

Today activist Indians throughout the U.S. are determined to push all such holding operations to the limit of their resources, since they have seen the devastating impact of closed-down reservations. The Menominees of Wisconsin had good schools and community services, plus a sawmill owned by the tribe, when they were "terminated" in 1961. Since then, many Menominees have had to sell their lands to pay taxes in their new ownership status. The Indian hospital shut down and sawmill profits dwindled. As a result, the state paid out more than six times as much money in welfare to the Menominees as before—and the Menominees lost their identity. "The Menominee tribe is dead," reports Professor Gary Orfield in a study for the University of Chicago, "but for no good reason." Also terminated in 1961, Oregon's Klamath tribe suffered soaring rates in suicides, crime and drunkenness.

The Indians who move off the land and into big cities are indeed apt to become losers. More than 200,000 Indians have done so. They do not congregate as closely as blacks, partly because they meet less resistance in moving into low-income white neighborhoods. There are nearly 60,000 in Los Angeles, perhaps 20,000 in the San Francisco Bay area, about 12,000 in Phoenix, 15,000 on Chicago's North Side. Some 12,000 inhabit the Minneapolis-St. Paul area, almost half in shabby apartment houses and creaky Victorian houses near Minneapolis' Franklin Avenue, which cops and Indians alike call "the reservation."

Even the Indians who manage to make it often get restless and long to return to their reservation families for spiritual renewal. Many do so, abruptly abandoning jobs. It is the lure of the land, most often, that proves irresistible. "They used to tell me that the land is like your mother," explains Tom Cook, a 21-year-old Mohawk. "The trees are your brothers, as are the birds in the air and the fish in the water. They give you life; they give you food; they give you everything. It was so pretty the way my grandmother used to tell it." Cook attends college in New York City and is a full-time steelworker in Manhattan.

Something of Value

Indian grievances are specific, but the goals of redress so far remain diffuse. There are no Indian leaders who, with any confidence of national support from their people, can speak on precisely what should be done. Traditionalists merely tend to look at the mountains that have sheltered their tribes for centuries and at the writings of their ancestral prophets, and they say patiently: "We'll outlast you whites." There are others who seek accommodation of white and Indian cultures. Says Ronnie Lupe, tribal chairman of the White Mountain Apaches: "We know what the white man offers us. There are certain comforts in your culture—good homes, good cars, good jobs—but there is a certain way to get these and yet retain our identity, and we have yet to find it."

But even that kind of reasonableness is dismissed by the new Indian militants as the talk of "Uncle Tom-Toms" or "Uncle Tomahawks" and "Stand-Around-the-Fort Indians." What these leaders seem to want most is for the Federal Government, which now spends only $500 million a year on aid to Indians, to increase its spending for Indian schools, roads, housing and medical care—and to stop smothering Indians with restrictive regulations and unwanted advice on how to run their affairs. They want their water and land rights protected and expanded, not contracted through treaty violations. They want help in attracting job-providing industries to their reservations, but they want to determine what kinds and how they will be operated. They want federal benevolence, in short, as compensation for the loss of more than half a continent, but they want to be free to go their own way—even though they are not yet certain of their direction.

The Indians' longing to live harmoniously with nature touches recesses of nostalgia in the minds of many Americans. Indeed, at a time when the drive to protect and restore the nation's physical environment is the most popular cause of the day, whites' guilt over their spoilage of air, land and water engenders a new admiration for those who have fought for so long to protect their own plains, lakes and hunting grounds. It would be wrong to romanticize Indian culture, but there is something to be valued, or at least envied, in a society that respects the wisdom of elders, enjoys the closeness of kinship, prefers tranquillity to competition, and sees little merit in 9-to-5 punctuality at a desk.

Although they now live in what one Indian calls "a schizoid world of fractured loyalties," all Indian leaders agree that the best of their ancient heritage is a priceless resource. To many white Americans, who are constantly told these days how much they have to feel guilty about, the demands of yet one more minority may seem almost more than the conscience can bear. Yet Indians can hardly be expected to keep their peace just because they have only lately joined the queue of those vociferously demanding social justice. If they continue to be rejected, many young Indians will continue to despair and will embrace the sentiments of Phil George, a young Nez Perce, who wrote:

This summer I shall
Return to our Longhouse,
Hide beneath a feathered hat,
And become an Old Man.

The new militants reject such resignation, and are determined that Indians be heard along with all of America's second-class citizens. Their aim is nothing less than to reverse the perspectives of the races. Explains one:

You will forgive me if I tell you that my people were Americans for thousands of years before your people were. The question is not how you can Americanize us but how we can Americanize you. The first thing we want to teach you is that, in the American way of life, each man has respect for his brother's vision. Because each of us respected his brother's dream, we enjoyed freedom here while your people were busy killing and enslaving one another across the water. We have a hard trail ahead of us, but we are not afraid of hard trails.

COURTESY KENNEDY GALLERIES INC. 1969

FRASER'S "END OF THE TRAIL" (1894)

TOM COOK

* The first reservation opened in 1853, and the system still includes some 284 BIA-supervised enclaves. Indians are free to leave reservations whenever they wish, but those who do not live on them do not benefit from most Indian-aid programs. All Indians were granted full citizenship status in 1924.

Until This Year Four Holes Community Kept To Itself

THE STATE — Columbia, S. C.,

RIDGEVILLE — Thirty-two Indian children denied enrollment at predominately white Ridgeville Elementary are boycotting their old three-room school and attending a "Freedom School" set up by University of South Carolina students.

Located in a $35-a-month rented house in the Indian community known as Four Holes, the school has attracted all but a handful of children away from the three-teacher school they claim is educationally inadequate.

Mrs. Victoria DeLee, a Ridgeville Negro civil rights worker who has championed integration on behalf of both Negroes and the Indians, commented, "Some of them are in the fifth and sixth grades and can't write their names.

"They haven't been given a decent education at the Four Holes School — no adequate teachers or adequate books. These kids are not going to attend Four Holes again this year no matter what happens."

The mere mention of "Freedom School" prompts an instant testimonial from residents of the Indian community. "My boy is going there and he has already learned how to write his name," beamed one mother who was asked for directions to the school.

The school was set up by three University of South Carolina students — Ralph Courtney, 19, an education major from Greenville; Jack Malloy, 22 a psychology major from Buffalo, N. Y.; and [redacted], 21, an education major from Charleston. They were joined by Ridgeville resident Joyce Bradley, a high school graduate who teaches the 11 youngsters in the first grade.

Relating how they became interested in the Indian students, Malloy said news reports over the controversy in the community prompted an invitation to Mrs. DeLee to speak before three university groups — Aware, S. C. Revolutionary Youth Movement and the Students for a Democratic Society.

"The university said she was not a 'registered speaker' and couldn't speak on campus so they went to the UFO Coffee House. There were 400 people packed in there," Malloy said.

The school is divided into four sections, with two grades per classroom except for the first, which is separate.

"If we expect them to learn anything, we almost have to teach them individually," Courtney said. "Some of the children can't read at all and they are in the fourth grade."

"Their biggest difficulty is reading," Malloy said. "These children are not intellectually inferior. They have the same intellectual ability as any children in the United States. It is just the shortcomings of the educational process in this area that has put them where they are. If they have the opportunity, they can be successful."

Dotted around the school rooms are signs that are remnants from the protest marches that Indian and Negroes in the community staged when the Ridgeville school board reversed a decision to admit the Indian children to predominantly white Ridgeville Elementary.

The board said the school would be overcrowded.

Under a desegregation order by U. S. District Judge Robert Hemphill, 15 of the 84 children at Four Holes were to be admitted to Ridgeville this fall and Four Holes, the only three-teacher school left in South Carolina, was to be closed completely next year.

Parents wanted the school closed this year. When they tried to enter their children in Ridgeville, they were arrested for disrupting the school system.

Mrs. DeLee was arrested on a similar charge and is to appear at a hearing before Judge Hemphill in Charleston Tuesday.

The signs on the walls of the school were first used as placards in the protest marches in Ridgeville staged by the parents. One reads, "Give us equal rights. We want to be free; my sisters and brothers want their school rights."

Another says, "We are being denied our learning."

Malloy said the quality of the Four Holes school is what has helped maintain the isolated Indian community in the backwoods of Dorchester County. "When these children leave Four Holes, they go to Ridgeville High and they fail because their education is so inferior. This is why they are thrown back into the community.

"If you can control a person's education, you can control his destiny and that's what the white community has done in this area."

The history of the Four Holes Indian community is vague, but Mrs. DeLee said she was told by her grandmother that the first Indians to settle there came — from some unknown place — down the Edisto River in canoes. Indians in the community claim most of their ancestors are Cherokee. Their Indian ancestory is clearly evident in some, but many are fair-skinned blonds.

Until this year, the Indian community kept to itself, not getting involved in the desegregation battles waged by the Negroes in Dorchester.

Mrs. DeLee related, "At that time, the Indians were back in their community and didn't have anything to do with us. They didn't know they were disliked by the whites like they are until now."

Mrs. DeLee, a robust woman with little formal education but strong determination, began urging the Indians to apply to Ridgeville School under the freedom-of-choice plan. She said Negro applicants who applied late were admitted, while Indians who had applied first were told the school was overcrowded.

An old hand at organizing desegregation protests — she enrolled four of her own children in white schools after long battles — Mrs. DeLee helped unite the Indian community. "I am not for any individual or any color, I am for the underprivileged," she said.

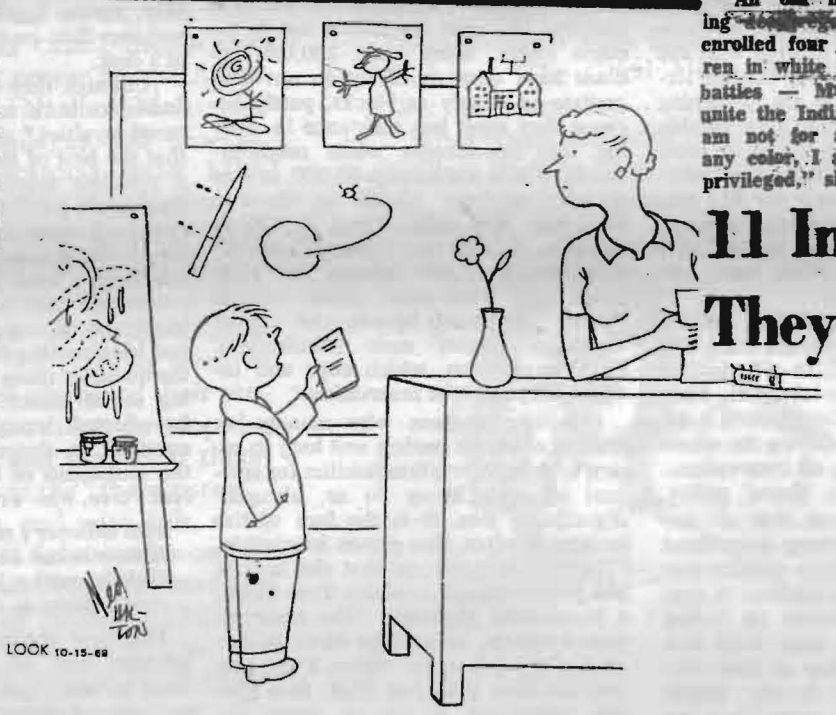
Staff Photo By Vic Tufts

Malloy Left USC To Teach Youngsters

Tuesday she will appear in court. Mrs. DeLee, when arrested on a charge of disobeying Hemphill's order against demonstrations at the school, said she was told her arrest was for the good of the community.

"What they meant," she said, "was that if Mrs. DeLee will quit doing what she's doing, the Negroes will go back to being niggers and the Indians will go back to being brass-ankles."

28



LOOK 10-15-68

"My mother can't read my report card. She went to this school, too."

11 Indian Parents Arrested as They Try to Enroll Kids in School

(These people need help in educating their children. Send books, money, and materials to Mrs. Gertie Creel, Route 2, Box 140, Ridgeville, S.C.

Indians travelling in that area are invited to stop by. Indians who could teach for part of a year might want to help out.)

My name is Gertie Creel. I am an Indian, and I am proud and I am somebody. I am going to stand up and fight for my rights like I am somebody, too.

I am going to get my rights if I got to fight for it, go to jail for it, or die for it.

I'm not fighting for integration -- I'm fighting for education.

The white children in Dorchester County are getting good education, and mine are going to get it too. This country belongs to the Indian people, and I'm going to fight for them.

I'll roll up my sleeves and fight it out before my kids be kicked around by the white people in Dorchester County, and I mean every word. The Indians have sat down for too long, while the white man grin in their face.

But I'm here to tell you no white man grin in my face for I am not the older generation. We're not here for feel.

The tragedy of life is what dies inside a man while he lives.

There are times when we need the courage to stand up and speak. There are even more times when the white people need the wisdom to sit down and listen.

You know, you can make more friends in two months by becoming interested in other people than you can in two years by getting other people to be interested in you.

Now I read that the Freedom School of ours is a sham, but that Four Holes School is a sham and has been for as long as I can remember.

The Indian people here have never had any control in their own affairs and now we are asking for what we rightfully should have: Indian power for Indian people in Indian affairs.

The Indians want the rights to control their own affairs, and they want the white man to stay out of their affairs and stop telling them what to do and what not to do.

'Freedom School' Offers Alternative

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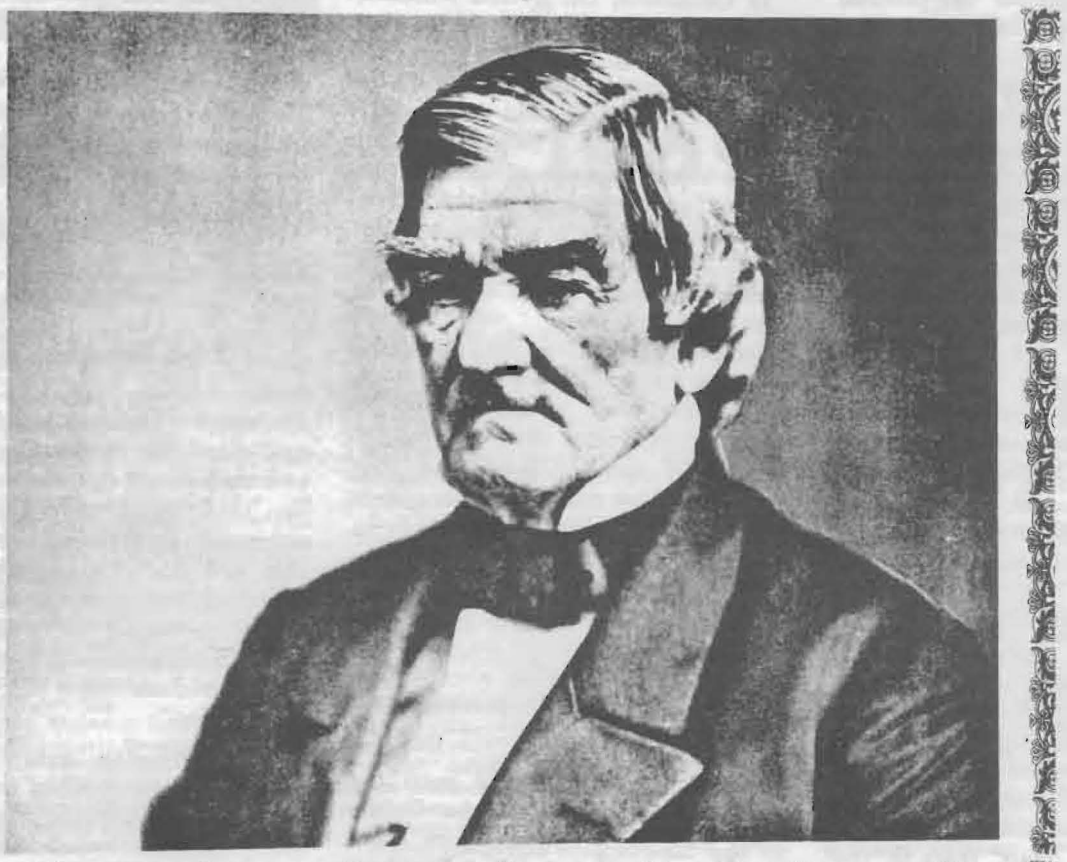

PRESIDENT JOHN ROSS

3 Oct. 1790 - 1 Aug. 1866

UNITED CHEROKEE REPUBLIC

Principle Chief John Ross was a man that all Cherokee children learn about; yet he was different from most other Chiefs. With the exception of Chief Parker of the Comanche, Chief Ross was and is considered to be one of the very few leaders of mix-parentage whose 'light'out shown most other Chiefs throughout the land.

Born on October 3, 1790 of a Scottish immigrant father and a Cherokee Woman,his life was one constant time of war and problems for the Cherokee.

In his younger days he ran a trading post, post office and punt (ferry) at Ross's Landing ; since renamed Chattanooga (Tennessee), not a great distance from where he had been born, at Thanahooyah (Logs in the Water) in what is now called Alabama.

As was not at all unusual, his white parent insisted that John be raised as a member of his Nation, so from the first, John Ross's entire life was to be as a Cherokee; first, last and always.

He was elected to the Cherokee Nation Council in 1817, and served as the President of the National Council until 1826.

His four main efforts seemed centered around education, trade, National unity and independence.

Through his efforts, the Laws and Constitution of the Cherokee Nation came into being, and when accepted in 1827, he was elected as the First Principle Chief of the First Native Republic of this land the Cherokee Nation.

" I do solemnly swear that I well faithfully execute the Office of the Princile Chief of the Cherokee Nation,and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the Cherokee Nation." Spoke the first President in the language of his Nation, and Tsanusdi (Little John), called by others by tne name of John Ross became the first legitimate President of this land; in the Cherokee Nation.

The Nation's Capital was established in a place called New Echota, in what is now called Georgia.

The formation of the Republic both rightened and angered the white that had come to ~~life~~ on Cherokee land, for while they had been living in relative peace, these squatters sought to take everything that belonged to the Cherokee Nation. The formation of the Republic clearly proved that the Cherokee were not about to become whitemen, or members of their fake republic. The whites feared the Republic, for the fighting ability of the Cherokee was never questioned; in fact there were still many, fresh, white graves in the area to more than prove their fighting ability.

There were other factors that added to the fear of the whites, for there was the brilliant Cherokee Educator called Sequoyah, himself from a mixed-marriage,and a chief in his own Band. His Clansmen in what is now called Tennessee had convinced him to take his strange ways and settle among the Cherokee in what is now called Arkansas.

The whites disliked confronting these two leaders, for both seemed to have the best of two cultures, yet both were all Cherokee; not Americans, but Cherokee.

In 1802, the illegally formed government of the United States had promise the traitors in what the whites now call Georgia, that the Cherokees would be removed from their land; thus giving the whites what they sought.

In 1822, the House of Representatives of this illegal government voted to take away all civil rights of the Cherokee Nation.

The Cherokee Nation had their own idea about this 'act', for the Cherokee Nation voted to NEVER make any treaties with the fake government of the so-called United States.

Ross was kidnapped and imprisoned by the whites, and the Phoenix, the National newspaper of the Nation was smashed out of action; for the newspaper had been very outspoken in both the native American language of the Cherokee and in the language of the english; against the outlaw activities of the fake, white government.

In 1835, the treaty of New Achota was established; despite the fact that not even one Cherokee leader would even touch the treaty, let alone sign it. So, though the whites still 'claim' this treaty, it never existed; except in the warped minds of the whiteman. Under this fake treaty all lands of the Cherokee Nation east of the Mississippi River were to become the property of the illegal white government, and the Cherokees in that area were given two years to get off of their land and go to Oklahoma.

Over 16,000 Cherokee Citizens signed a petition to the illegal government that clearly stated that this 'treaty' was a complete fake, but the whiteman would not listen.

The Nation had neither enough troops or munitions to fight the now hated white man, so 2,000 entered into the life of a people driven from their homeland; and they settled in their assigned concentration camp in Oklahoma.

The remainder remaind in their own country, in hopes that Chief Ross could somehow convince the whites in their Washington, that the whites could not legally or morally do what they were in fact doing.

In May of 1838, the ' New World's ' first Adolph Eichmann came into being, as General Winfield Scott led an open, uncalled for invasion of the Cherokee lands and commenced to march Cherokee families to various Detention Camps, pending removal to their assigned Concentration Camp in Oklahoma.

Chief Ross removed the National Capital to the Red Clay Council grounds in Tennessee; thinking to retain the Nation on Cherokee grounds, but away from the hated whites in Georgia; a government in exile.

Renegade Cherokees formed under the leadership of the hated Major Ridge, John Ridge and Elias Boudinot; the original Uncle Tomahawks of the Cherokee.So, those who would sell-out at any cost to their Nation gathered to these traitors; thus weakening the effectiveness of the real Cherokees.

The situation reached the point of no return, and Ross finally sought to be the one to lead the people into forced exile.

He formed groups of 1,000 each from the various Detention Camps, but the move was held off for a while, for the rate of sickness in these American Death Camps had made it all but completely inhuman to consider removing the displace People.

It was in October , 1828 that Chief Ross set out with the last group of The People, and as with all the other, they were under constant guard by their white concentration Camp Guards.

Nuna-da-ut sun'y... *The Trail Where They Cried... The Trail of Tears.. How well we remember.*

One fourth of the Cherokee Nation died on this Death March; to be buried in unmarked graves. The people on foot, the white troops on horse; fat , dumb , unthinkingly following the orders of a mass murderer (Scott), acting under the direct orders of the so-called president of the whiteman's country. Hitler and Eichmann lived in 1839.

The new Capital was established in Tahlequah (Oklahoma), and just about the time it seemed that the Nation would be reunited once more, the Civil War of the whites broke out.

The treaty Party; who had sought to be the whiteman's Little Red Sambos, sided with the Southern Forces, while the followers of Chief Ross joined the army of the North, the people they refused to have anything to do with; as far as unity was concerned. However,it should be noted that most of those who went off to fight simply elected which side they would go with, and that is the way they went.

After the whiteman's war, Chief Ross once more sought the white leaders and once more commenced to fight for the rights of his People; rights taken away by the hated whiteman in his never ending plunder of this land.

Chief Ross died on one such visit, and his People claimed his remains and removed him to be finally buried by his People; the Cherokee.

So it was that the first legal president on the face of the Americas died,in exile; so placed by the same ones who still speak of the rights of man; for the whiteman.

His wife, Quatie, died 'on the trail', and buried near Little Rock, Arkansas.His Nation scattered,but still one Nation, in exile. Why did he fight so much?

He was Guweesguwi; and this is the way it had to be; for he was Guweesguwi, and he still lives.

" WE LIVE AGAIN "

DECEMBER, 1969 **The PROGRESSIVE**

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"YOU SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE"

American Indians: The Alien Americans

by WILLIAM BRANDON

AMERICAN INDIANS remain our one unhyphenated minority. The American Indian world is so alien to us, so alien still, after all the generations of mortal embrace, that no one would say Indian-Americans any more than one would say Martian-Americans. It is an alienness rooted in the very foundation of the Indian world, which rests—still today—on a sense of community as against the foundation of individual contention, individual acquisition, underlying the surrounding world—an alienness attuned to a harmony of human relationships rather than a harmony of commerce and industry, attuned to belonging rather than belongings.

The existence of so foreign a body in the greater American body politic is secured by the strongest of legal safeguards: treaty rights or equivalents thereof. For all such august protection, it becomes from time to time an existence most precarious. The late Felix Cohen, legal philosopher and the nation's great expert on Indian law, wrote (at the time of the onset of McCarthyism in the 1950s), "Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shifts from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall of our democratic faith."

When Indians have hit the streets (if not the warpath) in recent years it has nearly always been in protest against invasion of specific guarantees. "Treaty treks" marched, to a tom-tom beat, along the rivers of the Northwest in 1964 when the state of Washington tried to cancel Indian fishing rights protected by Federal treaties. Mohawks along the Canadian-New York border demonstrated during 1969 against Canadian abrogation of a 1794 treaty dealing with right of passage.

The history of the American Indian world is in essence the story of raids, frauds, thefts, beguilements (often ardently well meant, as by missionaries), besiegements, and occasionally blunt frontal assaults upon Indian rights and possessions.

The Federal Government, legally responsible, by treaty, usually, for the Indians' defense, has customarily reacted to such attacks with an eye to their political implications. President Andrew Jackson stated in connection with the "Great Removal" of the 1830s the policy that has been pretty much followed ever since: "The matter is not one of right but of remedy."

The Great Removal was the forcible ejection of Indian communities from Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama in direct contravention of absolute guarantees in several treaties, the earliest having been negotiated some forty years before by President George Washington. The "right" of the matter had to give way to some "remedy" that could accommodate the political poundage—state politicians, real-estate speculators, missionaries—behind these demands for removal of the Indians from their rightful homes. Therefore the Indians of the Southeast were "removed" and given a new Indian Territory in the West that this time would be theirs forever for sure: "The pledge of the United States has been given by Congress that the country destined for the residence of this people shall be forever secured and guaranteed to them," said President Jackson. The country so destined is now Oklahoma.

Indian groups have swallowed painful remedies for a long, long time through the years, and, what is more to the point, are still swallowing bitterly away today. More than ninety million acres of land went in one strong dose alone—the Allotment Act of 1887, which allotted to individual Indians family-sized farms from small portions of a number of immense reservations and opened the residue to white development; the biggest gold mine in the world in another—the Homestake in the Black Hills, taken at gunpoint by means of the Sioux Wars of the 1870s in direct contravention of the Sioux treaty of 1868; the school system called by educators the finest of the time west of the Mississippi—that of the Cherokee Nation, confiscated by Oklahoma politicians in 1907—in another; bits and pieces large and small, spiritual and fiscal in a thousand others.

The Indian world has been under constant siege, in a very real sense, for generations. Its land base, supposedly protected under the trusteeship of the U.S. Government from any sale or loss, has been chipped away and its alien soul cannonaded by incessant economic pounding until the mere fact of its survival at all has become one of the marvels of history.

"The Indian world has been under constant siege, in a very real sense, for generations."

Chief Shenandoah of the Onondaga and the Six Nations Iroquois, speaking with the majesty of a sachem of old at the kitchen table of his tatterdemalion little house in upstate New York, says, "We have a right to have an Indian community here, a right given us by treaty after treaty, but our land has disappeared. How can we keep our community here, because there is not enough land, there is no way to live?"

By "community" is meant not a mere neighborhood but a tribal community, to some degree under its own jurisdiction, its people never unaware of a relatedness, by blood or by spirit, one to another.

In Oklahoma, Dr. Everett Rhoades, Kiowa tribal councilman, told me that the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been "weakest in its trusteeship of Indian land, in letting land drift away." On the West Coast I talked to Rupert Costo, tribal chairman of the Cahuilla Indians and president of the American Indian Historical Society, who defined "the economically forced abandonment of reservations" as a most urgent basic problem.

Indian populations are growing—twice as fast as the national average. The people want to stay together as members of living communities, but because of lack of productive land they don't have room—and because of hamstrung reservation development as well as the out-of-the-way location of most reservations there are not enough (are not any, in many cases) jobs handy.

But the communities do survive. The people stubbornly persist in remaining together.

During the last hundred years the lands and belongings of the Oglala Sioux have been stripped from them until the remnant now left cannot possibly support their community of nearly 14,000, this even though their reservation, Pine Ridge in South Dakota, is still one of the largest in the country (1.5 million acres). This is a country of badlands and vast ranches—I camped for days in barren hills that could support only ghosts. The productive land can provide a living for no more than a small fraction of the Oglala population, most of that in cattle-ranching. Eight per cent of the reservation is suitable for dryland farming; there are very few other jobs of any kind within reach, and so, at the latest count (1968), some 955 persons had full-time jobs out of an "available labor force" of more than 3,000, with 607 others at work part time (including migrant farmhanding); one-third of the people had a *family* income, counting welfare and any other nickels and dimes from any source, of less than $999 per year; nearly one-half of the people were on some kind of welfare (average amount less than $25 per month per person); half of the people were still living in one- or two-room mud-caulked log houses and some hundreds in tents winter as well as summer. Nine out of ten homes have no electricity, nineteen out of twenty no running water; most householders have to transport water a quarter-mile or more.

If the people won't depart even where their alien enclaves are rendered all but untenable, reduced to all but debris, well, it's a free country, they can stay and starve, they can stay and watch their infant children die at three times the national rate for the first year of life after coming home from the maternity clinic. A white child has a better chance of living to age forty-five than an Indian baby of living to its first birthday.

They can stay and watch their infant children sicken from the wild diarrhea that is related to malnutrition and the filth of poverty and apparently linked to permanent mental retardation; they can stay and watch the children contract the eye and ear infections that are all but unknown to the surrounding outside world and that so often lead to permanent blindness and deafness. They can stay and watch their boys and girls commit suicide at a rate that can attain some very cold and distant heights—"parents are lost in despair and do not dare to look their children in the eye," writes an ethnologist long familiar with Fort Hall, Idaho, where the suicide rate has run as high as ten times the national average and, for teenagers, has reached one hundred times the rate of the American world outside.

There are people red and white, in and out of the Government, some of them dedicated well beyond any call of duty, doing their utmost to help however they can in the Indians' desperate defense—and there are maybe still more people, sometimes red as well as white, in the Government as well as out, doing their best to maintain relentless pressure against Indian communities, regarding as both inevitable and desirable the eradication of the alien Indian world, disintegration of the communal un-American tribes, and full integration of surviving Indian individuals into the "American mainstream."

An anti-Indian weapon that has wrought great mischief in this long siege is a widespread notion, utterly erroneous, that Indian lands are really public lands, owned by the Government and available for public use. This misconception springs from the Government's customary role as trustee of Indian lands. In fact, of course, most Indian reservations were established in payment for cessions that at the time were regarded as important, and usually confirmed the Indians in permanent and complete ownership of their reserved lands in the most explicit possible terms; and as a rule the treaty commissioners felt they were making splendid bargains and as a rule they certainly were. President Washington said of the 1790 treaty that President Jackson refused to honor some forty years later that it was "of great importance to the future tranquillity of the state of Georgia as well as of the United States" and told the Senate that on it "the fate of the Southern states . . . may principally depend . . ." for the treaty obtained the vital support of the Creek Indians in securing the southern border of the new United States against Spain.

"Indian groups have swallowed painful remedies for a long, long time . . ."

More often, though, such treaties and agreements were made in return for cessions of land, and in addition to spelling out Indian land rights and other compensation, swore most solemnly to protect the Indians and their property from any rapacious neighbors, including state and local governments. It was to effect this protection that the Federal Government assumed the above-mentioned trusteeship.

The Administration of President Washington confirmed certain lands in and about the western end of the state of New York as "the property of the Seneca Nation; and the United States will never claim the same, nor disturb the Seneca Nation . . . in the free use and enjoyment thereof. . . ." (A typical time limit placed on such contracts was "As long as the moon rises, the grass is green, the rivers flow, and the sun shines.") But the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, recommending in 1938 the use of some of these lands in the "take area" (area to be flooded) of the projected Kinzua dam, noted only that some "treaty

Mr. Brandon brings to his assignment a noteworthy background of research and first-hand study of the continent's oldest inhabitants. His book, *The American Heritage Book of Indians,* published in 1961, was a general history of American Indians, the only serious attempt ever made at such an overall synthesis. Published in an expensive, large-format, lavishly illustrated volume, priced in its various editions at upwards of $15, it set a record for books in this price range by selling more than a quarter of a million copies. The book was widely acclaimed by experts in the field, and historian Allan Nevins wrote at the time that "the book will stand up as a classic in the field."

"The history of the American Indian world is in essence the story of raids, frauds, thefts, beguilements . . ."

difficulties" might be encountered; these were left prudently unmentioned when the project was put before Congress as one of many in a routine Public Works Act. Eventually they were brought to public attention in something of a furor that may have raised the price of the conscience money paid the Seneca Nation, but in the end the Corps of Engineers got the land it wanted and the treaty was violated.

The Metropolitan Water District of Los Angeles is an old hand at the legerdemain of private right and public wrong so prevalent in current Indian affairs. In 1936 it drove a tunnel through the mountains above the reservation of Soboba in southern California and in doing so broke into the underground water-course that gave the reservation its water supply. Soboba's three streams and two dozen artesian wells promptly dried up. Its couple of hundred residents, Cahuilla Indians, were left without water and are still without water. A $200,000 hospital on the reservation, for the use of Indians in all the surrounding region, fell into ruins. The people, those who tried to stay, had to haul water, and still do. Non-Indian ranchers in the vicinity received prompt settlement of damages but the Indians are still trying to collect from the Metropolitan Water District, since grown into a huge complex of power, one of the ruling forces of California. The Federal Government, which as trustee of the damaged lands had to approve legal action, declined, for reasons of its own, to do so; a claim then brought against the Government, following the establishment of the Indian Claims Commission in 1946, is still pending.

If the Government seems none too speedy in considering the sufferings of the wronged Soboba people, it has been even less so in the case of four reservations (Pala, La Jolla, Rincon, and Pauma-Yuima) along the San Luis Rey River in Southern California, where in 1894 the Escondido Mutual Water Company diverted much of the water without a by-your-leave from a point on the river above the reservations, and in the 1920s a dam took most of what was left. As with Soboba, the Indians concerned, thwarted in all other recourse, at last submitted a claim against the Government. This claim is also pending its leisurely way, while the Government lawyers are developing the interesting argument that the Indians should be suing not the Government but the persons who took their water, and that it is no proper concern of the Government's right hand, now serving as counsel for the defense, if the Government's left hand has prevented precisely such suits.

These Indians are poor, and the poor don't have to be alien in order to learn patience in the halls of justice. But some relatives of the Soboba people, the Agua Caliente band of Cahuilla Indians at Palm Springs, California, the "Palm Springs" Indians, still have land holdings in that wealthy resort community and are therefore the richest Indians in the world, as everyone knows, or as everyone knew until 1967 when it was discovered they had been systematically short-changed for quite some while out of quite a lot of change.

Palm Springs was big business by the 1950s, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs came in at the time for impatient criticism over red tape that was holding up the "development" of various Indian lands, most specifically a tribally owned section (640 acres) in the center of town. Between 1955 and 1958 the BIA transferred much of its trusteeship jurisdiction over these lands to Judge Hilton H. McCabe, of the state Superior Court in the Palm Springs area; a California law of 1957 then gave state courts broad powers for appointing "conservators" to handle the affairs of owners of estates who might be assumed deficient in business skills. Federal legislation of 1959 then divided most of the Agua Caliente's tribal lands among the band's 104 members, who were promptly bestrewn with choirs of guardians and conservators. Edmund Peter Siva, an Indian conservatee, said later that by 1961 "everybody was grabbing himself an Indian."

In 1964 the Agua Caliente Tribal Council formally charged the Bureau of Indian Affairs with "an unwarranted abdication" of its trust responsibility, and alleged a reign of wrongdoing under the Superior Court's administration; Judge McCabe was hastily promoted out of the fire to a place as presiding justice in one of the state Appellate Court divisions; and in 1967 reporter George Ringwald of the Riverside, California, *Press-Enterprise* won a Pulitzer for a series of articles describing the details of the lucrative Indian-conservator racket in Palm Springs.

It was disclosed that guardians and conservators had collected fees that frequently ran to more than fifty per cent of the Indian conservatee's income and sometimes went as high as 250 per cent; judges had received questionable fees; attorneys had collected fees from lessees of Indian land at the same time they were taking fees from the Indian lessors; conservators had received kickbacks from real estate brokers; Indian land had been sold without consulting the Indian owners; conservators had turned many a pretty penny, in one instance accumulating as much as a quarter of a million dollars, while Indian conservatees had perforce lived more modestly—in one case a conservator took as fee $9,000 from $9189.73 cash on hand in the conservatee's bank account; in another an Indian minor child was given about $3,000 out of a total income of some $23,000, guardians and their lawyers taking the rest.

Clearly the BIA, officially obligated to conserve and defend the rights and appurtenances of the Indian world, is not very well armed to withstand attacks from weighty politicians or influential local interests.

It is still more vulnerable to sibling rivalry within its parent organization, the Department of the Interior, where it has long lived a stepchild's life in the secretariat of Public Land Management.

A classic sibling contest is now in progress at Pyramid Lake, Nevada, where the United States Bureau of Reclamation and sundry allies have challenged the BIA for the waters of the Truckee River, which supply the lake, which in turn is the property of the Northern Paiute Indian Tribe, but which may be extracted from the Indians' pocket by the simple expedient of drying it up.

The thirty-mile-long lake, one of the real beauty spots of the desert West, is the only possession of any consequence of the Pyramid Lake Paiutes, and could be of considerable consequence in future development. But irrigation districts and the Bureau of Reclamation have been diverting more and more Truckee water for years, for the ultimate benefit of white ranchers and the real estate speculators of nearby Reno.

One of several water-use deals in the area is the Reclamation Bureau's Newlands Project which covers miles of country south of the Pyramid Lake reservation (some of this, ironically, land filched from the reservation in earlier years), an effort to make the desert bloom that hasn't been doing too well—Newlands is at the bottom of the Reclamation Bureau's Crop Production Report, highest in water cost, lowest in crop yield. Nevertheless the Reclamation Bureau is pushing its ditching program and wants some 400,000 acre-feet of water annually for the Newlands project. A Federal court gave the Paiutes a legal right to 30,000 acre-feet annually in 1944, but only for irrigation—none whatever for their lake. No one denies that the lake was made Paiute property in perpetuity by a Government decree of 1859—but where does the decree say anything about the lake being obliged to have water in it?

The justice of the Paiutes' cause is so patent that the issue is simply one of "ordinary decency," as an eminent authority on water law was quoted in *The Christian Science Monitor*. But Secretary of the Interior Walter Hickel, after a conference with the Republican governors of Nevada and California in "the forty-foot mahogany cruiser of a Reno gambler" (news item) on Lake Tahoe, has thrown the whole weight of Interior against the Paiutes and the BIA and in favor of a "reduction" of the lake.

Everyone says, "Wasn't it awful what we did to the Indians a hundred years ago?" But no one—except the besieged themselves, the aliens, the Indians—seems to notice that the process is still in business, very much so. The chasm of alienness is so deep that we are blind to the outrages committed within it. Our injustices toward Indians are not really intentional, just invisible.

Certainly the many individuals high and low who put through the Kinzua project could not all have been conscious that they were outraging President Washington's—let alone their country's—word of honor. The engineers and the lawyers and the steel mill people (an important purpose of the Kinzua dam was "to slake the thirsty boilers of Pittsburgh steel mills," as one expert put it) and the politicians were for the most part just doing their jobs. True, the Senecas did not want to sell any part of their ancestral lands at any price and regarded the seizure as a gross illegality, but after all it was a minor thing, wasn't it? Only 130 families dispossessed—and they were paid enough to make it right twice over, weren't they?

The Kafkaesque delays encountered by the people of Soboba have come in part from efforts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs down through the years to make use of the Soboba water situation for its own ends. Any settlement with the Metropolitan Water District had to be approved by the BIA, which attached to any proposed settlement provisions requiring the Soboba people to surrender their rights to certain tribal safeguards and government services, a "termination" agreement the BIA had long wished to force from the Soboba Cahuillas, and that the Soboba people steadfastly refused. The officials trying to coerce these distressed Cahuillas into accepting such a settlement were themselves, as a rule, certainly disinterested, even uninterested—they were simply carrying out a policy that was part of their job. Whether it was just or not was none of their business.

Official findings have held that maintaining Pyramid Lake for the Paiutes was not a "beneficial use" of Truckee River water, while cattle-raising and new irrigation districts and maintaining marshland for duck hunters were "beneficial uses." It is difficult for our officials to take an Indian community seriously not only as a moral entity but even as a serious business enterprise. If Pyramid Lake were owned by, say, Pacific Gas and Electric, it is highly unlikely two governors and a Secretary of the Interior would be conspiring to abduct it.

The sense of such alienness, such differentness, may help explain the curious fact that so many good people, not officials of our institutions, seem to feel it is no crime to steal from Indians. As in eastern Oklahoma.Around the turn of the century the U.S. Government possessed itself of most of the tribally held lands in eastern Oklahoma (some 60 years or so after President Jackson's remedial promise to the contrary), giving individual Indians small-farm allotments. For years it has been a local sport to steal these little parcels of allotted Indian land. The rules are a breeze. An allotment, exempt from taxation by act of Congress, happens to be included on the county tax rolls, by accident of course, unbeknownst to all and especially unbeknownst to the Indian owner. Somehow, though, a non-Indian citizen happens to know about it, and presently buys the land for delinquent taxes. After fifteen years, the statute of limitations having run out, the new owner announces himself, and the Indian ex-owner is duly evicted. The ex-owner then has open to him a free-lance career in the serfdom business.

A most respectable Oklahoman, for years a minister of the gospel, talking to me of this land-swindling, confessed with some shamefacedness, but only a little, that he himself had once bought 300 acres at thirty cents an acre. Then his conscience had smote him a mite so he had sold it—for $13.50 an acre. But, he said with some relief, his conscience was clear now because his son, who of course was honest, being well brought up, owned 2,000 acres of such land.

They live in the very epicenter of the Bible belt, there in eastern Oklahoma, and surely not a one of them would stand up for sin.

The Indian world, communal, unbusinesslike, devoted more to living than to getting, so un-American it is outside the pale of ordinary decency for good Americans, may indeed be more American, and better American, than yours and mine. It is simply different.

For some Americans it is so different it is an anti-world. "Did the United States destroy the Indians? No, but it should have," says a headline on the cover of a recent issue of the *National Review*, presumably stating the position of the extreme right in regard to Indians.

As a different world, as anti-world, its existence may fulfill a need for the rest of our society, an unconscious need, perhaps. Witness the hippies' somewhat pathetic attempts to tie up to this shadowy Indian world, so little known but somehow sensed as a new Mount Ararat.

It is this Indian world, this world of alien Indian communities, that is the miner's canary for our democracy.

It is still alive at this writing.

"The chasm of alienness is so deep that we are blind to the outrages committed within it."

Dine Baa-Hani

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THOSE WHO MAKE
PEACEFUL REVOLUTION
IMPOSSIBLE MAKE
VIOLENT REVOLUTION
INEVITABLE
J.F.K

DECEMBER 13, 1969

PRESENTING
SUPERNAVAJO
IN: ALMOST DROWNED WHEN JOINING THE MAIN STREAM OF AMERICAN SOCIETY!
MOAN, THESE INCENTIVE AWARDS AND PRAISES SURE GET MY EYE LIDS HEAVY. I HOPE I CAN STAY AWAKE TIL ITS OVER
MEANWHILE, SUPERNAVAJO CATCHES THE NEWS FROM KGAK IN HIS ONCE A YEAR SWEAT BATH...
FLASH!! WE BRING THIS SPECIAL BULLETIN! HUNDREDS OF NAVAJOES ARE BEING CIVILIZED AND CHRISTNIZED IN A NEW MACHINE BY THE MINUTE... THIS MACHINE....
I BETTER CHECK THIS OUT
HEY WAY YAH--AAH, HEY WAY YAH HEY WAY....??!
SINCE THE LAST DECADE, NEW IDEAS AND TECHNIQUES HAVE BEEN INTRODUCED TRYING TO CHRISTIANIZE AND CIVILIZE THE AMERICAN INDIAN, YES.....OVER THE VAST NAVAJO RESERVATION CRIES OF "THIS IS A PENCIL, THIS IS A GREEN PENCIL" HAS BEEN ECHOED AGAIN AND AGAIN BY THE WHITE MAN'S BURDEN IN T.E.S.L. CLASSES. (TEACHING ENGLISH AS A 2ND LANGUAGE)
FINALLY... A NEW ECONOMICAL AND FASTER METHOD HAS BEEN INVENTED.....
AND THE B.I.A., TAX PAYERS,... THE GREAT WHITE FATHER ARE P.H.S., ¢ HAPPY
I'M SO HAPPY
I COULD SING
HOT DAMN! THERE'S LOTS OF JOHNS DOWN THERE!
IS IT A BIRD?
IS IT A PLANE?
THE FLYING NUN?
THE FLYING FAG?
A NEW WEAPON FROM UNCLE SAM?
SOMEONE FLYING IN HIS UNDERWEAR!!
ON BEHALF OF THE NAVAJO TRIBE I THINK THIS IS A GREAT MOMENT IN NAVAJO HISTORY
THE POOR UNEDUCATED HEATHEN NAVAJO CHILDREN GO THRU THIS DOOR AND....
THE DIAL IS SET TO THE VALUES WE WANT THE CHILD TO HAVE.
- LOVE PEACE OR WE'LL KILL YA
- WHITE
- GEORGE WASH NEVER TOLD A LIE
- HATE COMMIE'S
- HATE BENEDICT ARNOLD
- PROTESTANT
- SUCCESS TO PLAYBOY
PRESTO
HMMM ?? THE CHILDREN ARE ALL COMING OUT NEARLY ALIKE?
QUESTION THEM TEST THEM !!!
CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP CLAP
MY PARENTS ARE BAD...THEY EAT PEYOTE
KIT CARSON IS MY HERO
KILL ALL COMMUNIST
MY GOD IS BETTER THAN YOUR GOD
GEE, NOW THEY'RE SECOND CLASS CITIZENS !!!
WOW.... NOW THE NAVAJOES ARE SECOND CLASS CITIZENS... WE'RE RIGHT NEXT TO 1ST CLASS !!!
I NEVER HEARD OF A THIRD CLASS CITIZEN.... HAVE YOU??

NAVAJO POWER

"Navajo people working together as a strong Navajo Nation", is the goal of the newly formed corporation Dine' Ahi/ndaalnish, Inc. (DAI). Howard Leonard, coordinator for the Eastern Navajo Agency, says it is "people organizing themselves to do something about what they complain about; what they want; what is needed; what needs to be done about issues, conflicts, problems of poverty, powerlessness, etc. The purpose and objective is to develop Navajo Power."

Mr. Leonard says that "for 101 years we have been complaining and making excuses about why we can't do things we believe need to be done. We have always looked for what to be told, what to believe, how to think, what's good for us or being told what's wrong with us. We have been complaining about being spoiled and have not tried to do anything about it. We are too happy about somebody, the Anglo, controlling or using us!"

DAI as a non-profit corporation has been formed as a totally Navajo controlled organization. For DAI volunteers, Navajo Power means "Navajo people running their own lives the way they believe and according to their culture and traditions." Mr. Leonard asks, "when do we start determining what is good and what is not good for us;or start growing and taking responsibility for our lives? People are always waiting for other people to tell them what to do."

The idea of DAI originated with six Navajo men who were responsible for training Anglo Vistas during the re-organization of the Vista program. In the past 5 years the Anglo Vistas failed in the Navajo Nation because they were used for chopping wood, herding sheep, running errands, and hauling people to the hospital and to the store. They were not really "helping the people to help themselves", Mr. Leonard said. DAI volunteers are replacing Anglo Vistas in the Navajo Nation.

DAI is the first volunteer movement of its kind in the United States. The idea being that Navajo people living in the Navajo Nation understand their problems better than Anglos who don't understand the language, the traditions, or the way to get things done. DAI received funding directly from OEO and Vista, Washington for a period of 14 months. DAI has its own board of directors, all of whom are Navajo. "DAI is a Navajo movement, Navajo controlled!"

DAI, according to Mr. Leonard, will not achieve its goals alone. DAI will play an organizing role to bring about action and change through challenging and confronting people. Getting people organized to take action. Dine' Baa-Hani, for example, is a DAI project group, not a DAI newspaper. Volunteers challenge and confront each other to develop the values they believe are necessary for group action. Group action to achieve the goal of "power for the people". Mr. Leonard states that, "the Navajo allowed people to take his power from him." And that they don't have power now, "because they don't take power; they just talk!"

Mae Roper, Rose Antone, and Gene Harrison, DAI volunteers in the ENA are concerned with issues that involve Navajo control of their lives. Navajo control of public and boarding schools, the B.I.A., and businessess. There is concern that "federal money is not reaching the people. It goes to people who sit in an office and don't have concern for problems and for poverty. That problems exist 24 hours a day, 7 days a week. If you attack them 8 hours a day, 5 days a week from an office-it won't do anything at all."

The Navajo Times

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Window Rock, Ariz.

EDITOR: Dick Hardwick

November 13, 1969

The Saga of Jim Thorpe

Watching recently the colorful parade of the many tribes attending the National Congress of American Indians, our thoughts strayed for a moment, turning to the greatest football player of all time—an Indian named Jim Thorpe.

Certainly, the new generation knows little of Thorpe's accomplishments, and the middle-agers had to learn of his exploits from their parents. Only the old timers can vividly recall "The Days of Jim Thorpe" as football celebrates its 100th birthday.

Jim Thorpe was one of twin boys born in a one-room log cabin in Prague, Okla., in May, 1888. His twin brother died at the age of eight. His Indian name was Wa-Tho-Huck or Bright Path. His grandfather was an Irishman. His mother was a grand-daughter of the famed Sac and Fox warrior, Chief Black Hawk.

In 1907, at the age of 19, Thorpe entered Carlisle Indian School, an institution that met the best in football, although it rated only as high school academically. Carlisle offered no classes above the twelfth grade, but its students generally had the physical maturity of college men. Thorpe, a left halfback, made the Carlisle first team, with Pop Warner its coach. In 1907, Thorpe made his initial bid for gridiron fame with three field goals, each worth four points at the time, which beat Penn State, 12-5. He ran 60 yards in a 6-6 tie with Penn.

Thorpe left school in 1909-10, returning a year later and earning a place on Walter Camp's All-America, duplicating the feat in 1912. A 1911 highlight was his performance against Harvard—one of the great teams of the East.

Thorpe, with his legs encased in bandages from poundings in other games, kicked four field goals in an 18-15 upset of the Crimson, the last from the 48-yard line!

His greatest day probably came against Army in 1912. Thorpe caught an Army kickoff on his 5-yd. line and raced 95 yards for the TD. The play was nullified by a penalty. Army kicked off again. Thorpe caught the ball on his goal ine, and went 100 yards for the TD. (A cadet named Dwight Eisenhower played for the Black Knights that day.) Thorpe scored 25 TD's as Carlisle won 12 games, lost one and tied one in 1912. Including field goals, he tallied 198 points that year for the little Pennsylvania school.

Thorpe was a natural in *any* sport. In the 1912 Olympics in Stockholm, he won both the pentathlon and decathlon. King Gustav of Sweden, in awarding his trophies, told him, "Sir, you are the greatest athlete in the world."

Thorpe once said baseball was his first love. Yet it brought him tragedy. It was disclosed that in 1910, when Thorpe was out of school, he had played baseball in the Eastern Carolina league. He got $60 a month. Nevertheless, he was branded as a professional, and his Olympic trophies and medals were recalled. *His feats were erased from the Olympic recordbook.* Thorpe freely admitted the 'pro' charge. Now the NCAI is demanding that Thorpe's medals be returned to the athlete's heirs.

The under-the-table gifts and free ride given today's "amateurs" were unheard of in Thorpe's time.

He played some major league baseball batting .327 in 60 games with the Boston Braves in 1919. Later in Class Triple-A minor league ball, he sometimes hit at a .350 pace. He finished his diamond career in 1928 at Akron, Ohio, at age 40. He had also played pro football (in what is now the NFL) most of his baseball life.

As a pro gridder, he collected $25-$50 per game!

In 1931, during the Depression, he was a day-laborer in Los Angeles at $24 per week. In 1951, a newspaperman disclosed that Thorpe was a charity case in a Philadelphia hospital. Sports fans everywhere rallied to his cause. The world still knew of the famed redskin, whose life had been depicted in a film, "Jim Thorpe, All American." Reportedly, Thorpe received only left-over royalties from the picture.

He married three times and fathered four sons, three daughters.

Pop Warner said he was the perfect athlete, save for one thing: he was lazy.

Observers say Thorpe never extended himself, never paid much attention to Olympics *because he didn't like track.* He never found a training rule he couldn't break. Yet his record of track point totals went unsurpassed for 20 years.

In 1950, the Associated Press conducted a poll to determine the "greatest athlete of the half-century." Thorpe finished on top in a field that included Babe Ruth, Red Grange and Sam Baugh.

Jim Thorpe died of a heart ailment in his trailer home at Lomita, Calif., a suburb of Los Angeles, in 1953.

Countless times has this writer heard the phrase, "He was just ahead of his time" applied to stars of yesteryear when compared to today's O.J. Simpson, Joe Namath, Fran Tarkenton, etc. What Thorp's bonuses, long term salary, endorsements, and fringe benefits would total today defies the imagination.

Amerind Office in Albuquerque

Amerind, an organization founded to protect the rights and improve the working conditions of Indian employes, has opened headquarters at 3102 Central SE., Albuquerque.

The group was organized at a conference this month in Gallup sponsored by the National Indian Youth Council.

Doug Sakiestewa, NIYC member and one of the organizers of the group, said that Amerind grew out of the experiences of some Indian employes of the Bureau of Indian Affairs who have filed discrimination complaints in Albuquerque and Gallup.

Sakiestewa said that Amerind is an organization designed to fight employment discrimination and to end the "second class treatment" of Indians working for the BIA, U.S. Public Health Service and other governmental agencies serving the Indian people.

OEO refunds Rough Rock

The Indian education program at Rough Rock Demonstration School, Chinle, Ariz., will be continued, it was announced recently by the Office of Economic Opportunity in Washington, D.C.

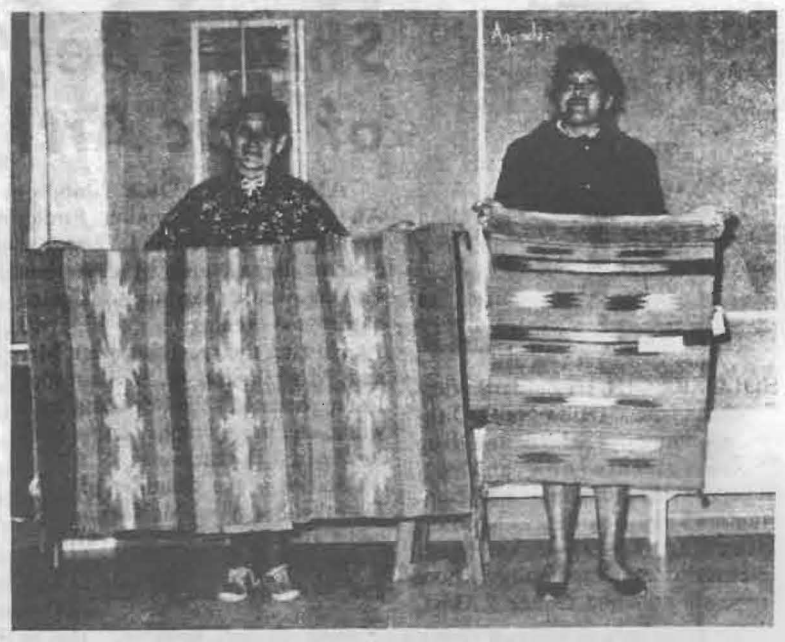
The $121,218 demonstration grant will be administered by DINE, Inc. The program is a cooperative effort of the Navajo Tribe, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and OEO to determine the worth of an Indian community-developed and operated school.

This is the fifth year OEO has funded the program. The Bureau of Indian Affairs will renew its contract with the Navajo Tribe in the joint operation of the school with OEO.

Added to this year's curriculum is a leadership training program for 28 Navajo school board members. The training program will include 11 sessions of two days each at Rough Rock and 15 sessions for board members in their own communities. The curriculum will consist of: General philosophy of a community school, administration, budget, dormitory operation, personnel, school law, the history of Navajo and American education, child development and curricular requirements and development.

The curriculum will also continue to emphasize home-school relations, parental involvement, preparation of teaching materials, adult education, guidance and counseling, recreation, and arts and crafts. Primary emphasis will be placed on the bilingual education program, which will begin with Navajo language study at age four. During subsequent years, English will be introduced as a second language until the fifth year (the child will then be 9-years-old), when it can be used as a medium of instruction.

NAVAJO WEDDING CEREMONY—David Sloan and Karen Greenstone perform the traditional Navajo ceremony of washing their hands at their recent wedding ceremony. After he has washed his hands the bride gives him the gourd ladle and he holds it while the master of ceremonies pours water into it. The bridegroom in turn pours the water onto the bride's hands as she washes them. The basket used in holding the corn mush is usually taken by a member of the bridegroom's party.



CRYSTAL CHAPTER will sponsor their First annual Navajo Rug auction next Friday, Nov. 28 at 7 p.m., Crystal, N.M. Mrs. Amelda Nez and Mrs. Nellie Jenkins are displaying their rugs for the auction. All rugs are authentic Navajo vegetable dyed. Weaving continues to decline with each passing year as far as quantity is concerned. Quality remains high.

Navajos are best known for their finely woven blankets

Current exhibit at the Museum of Navajo Ceremonial Art in Santa Fe features Navajo textiles woven before the turn of the century.

Entitled "Navajo Weaving 1850-1900," the display groups together weaving representative of Navajo design styles before white traders introduced their own innovations which give Navajo weaving its characteristic stamp today.

Eleven of the specimens on display are on loan from the Southwestern Archaeological Center in Globe, Ariz. The exhibit is augmented with examples of 19th century textile art from the Museum's permanent collection. Examples of double and single saddle blankets, Chief blankets, women's and children's robes and weaving from the Classic period illustrate the development of the art.

Included is an authentic copy of an old-style dress worn about the turn of the century, a simple blanket girded at the waist with a concho belt, in shades of deep indigo blue patterened with red. This style was soon to give way to the velvet blouses and cotton skirts now considered "traditional" dress of the Navajo woman.

Navajo Harry Walters, staff artist at the Museum, explains that the old-style dress is still worn on certain occasions. An abbreviated version is currently the uniform of the majorettes in the Navajo Tribal Band.

The Navajo learned the art of weaving from the Pueblo Indians during the 17th century. Over the next two centuries, they characteristically developed this newly acquired skill into a form peculiarly their own.

Although Pueblo weavers were traditionally men, the Navajo women took over the art form, with few men ever learning to weave.

The early Navajo blanket style was one of simple pattern with horizontal bands. The Golden Age of Navajo weaving came into being about the middle of the 19th century, with the introduction of red bayeta cloth from England, for which the Navajos traded horses with their Mexican neighbors.

Unable to produce a bright red from their own native materials, the Navajos were inspired by the possibilities which bayeta offered. The cloth was raveled and then respun into strands which were woven into thin bright blankets, patterned with the colors then available.

Later, bayeta was replaced with Germantown yarns imported from Pennsylvania, which were an important trade item at the posts. With the introduction of aniline dyes about 1885, use of natural dyes declined, not to be revived until the 1930's.

With the new colors, new designs and weaves were also developed—terraced motifs, zigzags, and diamond twill weave.

After the Classic period, Navajo weaving steadily declined, due to the introduction of inexpensive commercial blankets as well as to the trader's practice of weighing textiles by the pound. At the turn of the century it was not uncommon for a weaver to beat sand into her product so that it would weigh heavier on the trader's scales.

However, it was the trader who, among others, brought about the revival of the art, recognizing the intrinsic value of the hand woven rugs. In the early decades of the 20th century, traders started insisting on better quality, and introduced their own designs.

The Red Man's Burden [34]

by Peter Collier

WHEN FOURTEEN INDIAN college students invaded Alcatraz on a cold, foggy morning in the first part of November—claiming ownership "by right of discovery," and citing an 1868 treaty allowing the Sioux possession of unused federal lands—they seemed in a light-hearted mood. After establishing their beachhead, they told the press that they had come there because Alcatraz already had all the necessary features of a reservation: dangerously uninhabitable buildings; no fresh water; inadequate sanitation; and the certainty of total unemployment. They said they were planning to make the five full-time caretakers wards of a Bureau of Caucasian Affairs, and offered to take this troublesome real estate off the white man's hands for $24, payment to be made in glass beads. The newspapers played it up big, calling the Indians a "raiding party." When, after a 19-hour stay, the Indians were persuaded to leave the island, everyone agreed that it had been a good publicity stunt.

If the Indians had ever been joking about Alcatraz, however, it was with the bitter irony that fills colonial subjects' discourse with the mother-country. When they returned to the mainland, they didn't fall back into the cigar-store stoicism that is supposedly the red man's prime virtue. In fact, their first invasion ignited a series of meetings and strategy-sessions; two weeks later they returned to the rock, this time with a force of nearly 100 persons, a supply network, and the clear intention of staying. What had begun as a way of drawing attention to the position of the contemporary Indian, developed into a plan for doing something about it. And when the government, acting through the General Services Administration, gave them a deadline for leaving, the Indians replied with demands of their own: Alcatraz was theirs, they said, and it would take U.S. Marshals to remove them and their families; they planned to turn the island into a major cultural center and research facility; they would negotiate only the mechanics of deeding over the land, and that only with Interior Secretary Walter Hickel during a face to face meeting. The Secretary never showed up, but the government's deadlines were withdrawn.

> *"On this island, I saw not whether the people had personal property, for it seemed to me that whatever one had, they all took share of, especially of eatable things."*
>
> —CHRISTOPER COLUMBUS

ALCATRAZ IS INDIAN TERRITORY: The old warning to "Keep Off U.S. Property" now reads "Keep off Indian Property;" security guards with red armbands stand near the docks to make sure it is obeyed. Women tend fires beneath huge iron cauldrons filled with food, while their kids play frisbee in what was once a convicts' exercise yard. Some of the men work on the prison's wiring system or try to get more cellblocks cleared out for the Indian people who are arriving daily from all over the country; others sit fishing on the wharf with hand-lines, watching quietly as the rip-tides churn in the Bay. During the day, rock music plays over portable radios and a series of soap operas flit across a TV; at night, the prison is filled with the soft sounds of ceremonial drums and eerie songs in Sioux, Kiowa and Navajo.

In the few weeks of its occupation, Alcatraz has become a mecca, a sort of red man's Selma. Indian people come, stay a few days, and then leave, taking with them a sense of wonderment that it has happened. Middle-aged "establishment" Indians are there. They mix with younger insurgents like Lehman Brightman (the militant Sioux who heads a red power organization called the United Native Americans), Mad-Bear Anderson (the Iroquois traditionalist from upstate New York who fought to get the United Nations to stop the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers' flooding of precious Seneca Indian lands), Sid Mills (the young Yakima who demanded a discharge from the Army after returning from Viet-Nam so that he could fight his real war—against the state of Washington's denial of his people's fishing rights), and Al Bridges (one of the leaders of the first Washington fish-ins in 1964, who now faces a possible ten-year prison sentence for defying the state Fish and Game Commission). The composition of the ad hoc Indian community changes constantly, but the purpose remains the same: to make Alcatraz a powerful symbol of liberation springing out of the long American imprisonment.

The people enjoy themselves, spending a lot of time sitting around the campfire talking and gossiping. But there is a sense of urgency beneath the apparent lassitude. Richard Oakes, a 27-year-old Mohawk who worked in high steel construction before coming West to go to college, is one of the elected spokesmen. Sitting at a desk in the old Warden's Office, he talks about the hope of beginning a new organization, the Confederacy of American Indian Nations, to weld Indian groups all over the country into one body capable of taking power away from the white bureaucracy. He acknowledges that the pan-Indian movements which have sprung up before have always been crushed. "But time is running out for us," he says. "We have everything at stake. And if we don't make it now, then we'll get trapped at the bottom of that white world out there, and wind up as some kind of Jack Jones with a social security number and that's all. Not just on Alcatraz, but every place else, the Indian is in his last stand for cultural survival."

This sentiment is reflected in the slogans lettered on walls all over the prison, the red paint bleeding down onto the concrete. One of them declares: "Better Red than Dead."

> *"I also heard of numerous instances in which our men had cut out the private parts of females and wore them in their hats while riding in the ranks."*
>
> —A U.S. ARMY LIEUTENANT, TESTIFYING ABOUT THE SAND CREEK MASSACRE OF 1864

Photograph by John Peden

THE ALCATRAZ OCCUPATION is still popularly regarded as the engaging fun and games of Indian college kids. In its news coverage of the U.S. Coast Guard's feeble attempt to blockade ships running supplies to the island, one local television station found amusement in showing their films to the musical accompaniment of U.S. cavalry bugle calls. It was not so amusing to the occupiers, however. The California Indians now on the Rock know that their people were decimated from a population of 100,000 in 1850 when the gold rush settlers arrived, to about 15,000 thirty years later, and that whole tribes, languages and cultures were erased from the face of the earth. There are South Dakota Indians there whose grandparents were alive in 1890 when several hundred Sioux, mostly women and children leaving the reservation to find food, were caught at Wounded Knee, killed, and buried in a common grave—the old daguerreotypes still showing heavily-mustachioed soldiers standing stiffly over the frozen bodies like hunters with their trophies. Cowboys and Indians is not a pleasant game for the Alcatraz Indians and some must wonder whether, in another 150 years, German children will be gaily playing Nazis and Jews.

But the past is not really at issue. What is at stake today, as Richard Oakes says, is cultural survival. Some of the occupiers have known Indian culture all their lives; some have been partially assimilated away from it and are now trying to return. All understand that it is in jeopardy, and they want some assurance that Indian-ness will be available to their children. It sounds like a fair request, but fairness has never ruled the destiny of the Indian in America. In fighting for survival, the Indians of Alcatraz are challenging the lies perpetuated by anthropologists and bureaucrats alike, who insist that the red man is two things: an incompetent "ward" addicted to the paternalism of government, and an anachronism whose past is imprisoned in white history and whose only future is as an invisible swimmer in the American mainstream. The people on Alcatraz have entered a struggle on a large scale that parallels the smaller, individual struggles for survival that many of them have known themselves; it is the will to exist as individuals that brought them together in determination to exist as a people.

> *"When Robert Kennedy came, that was the only day they ever showed any respect for the Indian, just on that one day, and after that, they could care less."*
>
> —A FRESHMAN STUDENT AT BLACKFOOT, IDAHO, HIGH SCHOOL

ONE OF THE ORIGINAL 14 on Alcatraz was a pretty 22-year-old Shoshone-Bannock girl named La Nada Means. Her hair is long and reddish-black; her nose arches slightly and prominent cheekbones square out her face. Her walk is slightly pidgeon-toed, the result of a childhood disease for which she never received treatment. If you tell her that she looks very Indian, she will thank you, but with a searching look that suggests she has heard the same comment before, and not as a compliment.

"When I was little," she says, "I remember my family as being very poor. There were 12 of us kids, and we were always hungry. I remember sometimes getting to the point where I'd eat anything I could get my hands on—leaves, small pieces of wood, anything. The other thing I remember is the meanness of the small towns around the reservation. Blackfoot, Pocatello—they all had signs in the store windows to keep Indians out. One of them I'll never forget; it said, 'No Indians or Dogs Allowed.' There were Indian stalls in the public bathrooms; Indians weren't served in a lot of the restaurants; and we just naturally all sat in the balcony of the theaters. You learn early what all that means. It becomes part of the way you look at yourself."

She grew up on the Fort Hall reservation in southern Idaho. The Jim Crow atmosphere of the surrounding small towns has lessened somewhat with the passage of time and the coming of the civil-rights bills, but it is still very much present in the attitude of white townsfolk towards Indians. And while there are no longer the small outbreaks of famine that occurred on the reservation when La Nada was growing up in the '50s, Fort Hall is still one of the bleakest areas in the country, and the people there are among the poorest.

Like most Indian children of her generation (and like a great many today), La Nada Means was sent away to school. Her youth became a series of separations from home and family, each more traumatic than the one before. The first school she attended was St. Mary's School for Indian Girls in Springfield, South Dakota. "I took a lot of classes in subjects like 'Laundry,'" she remembers, "where the classwork was washing the headmaster's clothes. All Indian people are supposed to be good with their hands, you know, and also hard workers, so we didn't do too much regular schoolwork at St. Mary's. They also had what they called a Summer Home

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Program where you're sent out during the summer break to live with a white family. It was supposed to teach you white etiquette and things like that, and make you forget your savage Indian ways. When I was 13, I was sent up to Minnesota where I became a sort of housekeeper for the summer. I don't remember too much about it, except that the wages I got, about $5 a week, were sent back to St. Mary's and I never saw them. After being at that school a little while, I got all upset. They said I was 'too outspoken,' and expelled me. After I got back to Fort Hall, I had my first breakdown."

For awhile she attended public school in Blackfoot, the small town bordering the reservation. She was suspended because she objected to the racial slurs against Indians which were built into the curriculum. She was 15 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) sent her to its boarding school in Chilocco, Oklahoma. On her first day there, the matrons ordered her to lower the hems on the two dresses she owned. She refused and was immediately classified as a troublemaker. "At Chilocco, you're either a 'good girl' or a 'bad girl,'" she says. "They put me in the bad girls' dormitory right away with Indians mainly from the Northwest. The Oklahoma Indians were in the good girls' dorm, and the matrons constantly tried to keep us agitated by setting the tribes to fighting with each other. Everything was like the Army. There were bells, drills and set hours for everything. The food was called 'GI Chow.' There was a lot of brutality, but it was used mainly on the boys, who lived in another wing. Occasionally they'd let the boys and girls get together. You all stood in this big square; you could hold hands, but if the matrons saw you getting too close, they'd blow a whistle and then you'd have to march back to the dorm."

La Nada made the honor roll, but was expelled from Chilocco after a two-month stay for being involved in a fight. "The matrons just had it in for me, I guess. They got about 100 other Indian girls against me and a few other 'bad girls.' They put us in a small room and when the fight was ready to begin, they turned out the lights and walked out, locking the doors behind them. We had a "riot," and I got beat up. The next day, the head of the school called me into his office and said that I didn't fit in."

She was sent off with one dollar, a sack lunch, and a one-way bus ticket from Chilocco back to Idaho. She lived with her family for a few months, helping her father collect data about conditions at Fort Hall, and then was sent by the BIA to another of its boarding schools, Stewart Institute, in Carson City, Nevada. Her reputation as a "difficult Indian" followed her, and she was again sent home after being at Stewart for less than a day. The BIA threatened to send her to "reform" school; then it forgot about her. "I stayed around the reservation for awhile," she says, "and when I got to be 17, I took GED [high school equivalent] exams. I only had about nine real years of schooling, but I scored pretty well and got into Idaho State College. I lasted there for a semester, and then quit. I didn't really know what to do. At Fort Hall, you either work in some kind of menial job with the BIA agency there, or you go off the reservation to find a job in one of the towns. If you choose the BIA, you know that they'll try to drill a subservient mentality into you; and in the towns, the discrimination is pretty bad."

La Nada again spent time working with her father, a former tribal chairman. They sent out letters to congressmen and senators describing conditions on the reservations, and tried to get the Bureau of Indian Affairs office to respond. As a result, her father was harassed by local law enforcement officials. La Nada drifted for a time and then asked the BIA for "relocation" off the reservation. Many of the Fort Hall Indians have taken this route and 80 per cent of them return to the reservation, because, as La Nada says, "things in the slums where you wind up are even worse than on the reservation, and you don't have your people to support you."

The BIA gave her a one-way ticket to San Francisco, one of eight major relocation centers in the country. When she first arrived, she sat in the local BIA office from 8 to 5 for a few days, waiting for them to help her find a job. They didn't, and she found a series of temporary clerk jobs by herself. As soon as she found work, the BIA cut off her $140 a month relocation payment. She wound up spending a lot of time in the "Indian bars" which are found in San Francisco and every other relocation town. She worked as a housekeeper in the private home for Indian girls where the BIA had first sent her, and as a barmaid in a beer parlor. She was "drunk most of the time," and she became pregnant. She was 17 years old.

"After I had the baby," she says, "my mother came out from the reservation and got him. She said they'd take care of him back home until I got on my feet. I really didn't know what to do. The only programs the BIA has are vocational training for menial jobs, and I didn't especially want to be a beautician. Actually, I wanted to try college again, but when I told this to a BIA counselor, he said they didn't have any money for that and told me I was being 'irrational and unrealistic.'

"All types of problems develop when you're on relocation. The Indian who has come to the city is like a man without a country. Whose jurisdiction are you under, the BIA's or the state's? You go to a county hospital when you're sick and they say, 'Aren't you taken care of by the Indian Affairs people?' It's very confusing. You hang around with other Indians, but they are as bad off as you are. Anyway, I started sinking lower and lower. I married this Sioux and lived with his family awhile. I got pregnant again. But things didn't work out in the marriage, and I left. After I had the baby, I ended up in the San Francisco General psychiatric ward for a few weeks. I was at the bottom, really at the bottom. Indian people get to this point all the time, especially when they're relocated into the big city and are living in the slums. At that point, you've got two choices: either kill yourself and get it all over with—a lot of Indians do this—or try to go all the way up, and this is almost impossible."

As she looks at it now, La Nada feels she was "lucky." She tried to get admitted to the local colleges, but was refused because of her school record. Finally, because the University of California "needed a token Indian in its Economic Opportunity Program for minority students," she was admitted in the fall of 1968. She did well in her classes and became increasingly active, helping to found the United Native Americans organization and working to get more Indian students admitted into the EOP program. "After my first year there," she says, "everything was going along all right. I liked school and everything, and I felt I was doing some good. But I felt myself getting swallowed up by something that was bigger than me. The thing was that I didn't want to stop being an Indian, and there were all these pressures, very hidden ones, that were trying to make me white." At the summer break she went back to the reservation and spent some time with her family. The next quarter she became involved in the Third World Liberation Front strike at Berkeley, fighting for a school of Ethnic Studies, including a Native American program. She was suspended by the University.

La Nada's experiences, far from being extreme cases, are like those of most young Indians. If she is unique at all, it is because she learned the value of fighting back.

> "*We need fewer and fewer 'experts' on Indians. What we need is a cultural leave-us-alone agreement, in spirit and in fact.*"—VINE DELORIA, JR.

EACH GENERATION OF AMERICANS rediscovers for itself what is fashionably called the "plight" of the Indian. The American Indian today has a life expectancy of approximately 44 years, more than 25 years below the national average. He has the highest infant mortality rate in the country (among the more than 50,000 Alaskan natives, one of every four babies dies before reaching his first birthday). He suffers from epidemics of diseases which were supposed to have disappeared from America long ago.

A recent Department of Public Health report states that among California Indians, "water from contaminated sources is used in 38 to 42 per cent of the homes, and water must be hauled under unsanitary conditions by 40 to 50 per cent of all Indian families." Conditions are similar in other states. A high proportion of reservation housing throughout the country is officially classified as "substandard," an antiseptic term which fails to conjure up a tiny, two-room log cabin holding a family of 13 at Fort Hall; a crumbling Navajo hogan surrounded by broken plumbing fixtures hauled in to serve as woodbins; or a gutted automobile body in which a Pine Ridge Sioux family huddles against the South Dakota winter.

On most reservations, a 50 per cent unemployment rate is not considered high. Income per family among Indian people is just over $1500 per year—the lowest of any group in the country. But this, like the other figures, is deceptive. It does not suggest, for instance, the quality of the daily life of families on the Navajo reservation who live on $600 per year (exchanging sheep's wool and hand-woven rugs with white traders for beans and flour), who never have real money and who are perpetually sinking a little further into credit debt.

To most Americans, the conditions under which the Indian is forced to live are a perennial revelation. On one level, the symptoms are always being tinkered with half-heartedly and the causes ignored; on another level, the whole thrust of the Government's Indian policy appears calculated to perpetuate the Indians' "plight." This is why La Nada Means and the other Indians have joined what Janet McCloud, a leader of the Washington fishing protests, calls "the last, continuing Indian War." The enemies are legion, and they press in from every side: the studiously ignorant politicians, the continuously negligent Department of the Interior, and the white business interests who are allowed to prey upon the reservations' manpower and resources. But as the Indian has struggled to free himself from the suffocating embrace of white history, no enemy has held the death grip more tightly than has his supposed guardian, in effect his "keeper": the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau came into being in 1834 as a division of the War Department. Fifteen years later it was shifted to the Department of the Interior, the transition symbolizing the fact that the Indian was beginning to be seen not as a member of a sovereign, independent nation, but as a "ward," his land and life requiring constant management. This is the view that has informed the BIA for over a century. With its 16,000 employees and its outposts all over the country, the Bureau has become what Cherokee anthropologist Robert Thomas calls "the most complete colonial system in the world."

It is also a classic bureaucratic miasma. A recent book on Indian Affairs, *Our Brother's Keeper*, notes that on the large Pine Ridge reservation, "$8040 a year is spent per family to help the Oglala Sioux Indians out of poverty. Yet median income among these Indians is $1910 per family. At last count there was nearly one bureaucrat for each and every family on the reservation."

The paternalism of the BIA, endless and debilitating, is calculated to keep the Indian in a state of perpetual juvenilization, without rights, dependent upon the meagre and capricious beneficence of power. The Bureau's power over its "wards," whom it defines and treats as children, seems limitless. The BIA takes care of the Indian's money, doling it out to him when it considers his requests worthy; it determines the use of the Indian's land; it is in charge of the development of his natural resources; it relocates him from the reservation to the big city ghetto; it educates his children. It relinquishes its hold over him only reluctantly, even deciding whether or not his will is valid after he dies.

This bureaucratic paternalism hems the Indian in with an incomprehensible maze of procedures and regulations, never allowing him to know quite where he stands or what he can demand and how. Over 5000 laws, statutes and court decisions apply to the Indians alone. As one Indian student says, "Our people have to go to law school just to live a daily life."

The BIA is the Indian's point of contact with the white world, the concrete expression of this society's attitude towards him. The BIA manifests both stupidity and malice; but it is purely neither. It is guided by something more elusive, a whole world view regarding the Indian and what is good for him. Thus the BIA's overseership of human devastation begins by teaching bright-eyed youngsters the first formative lessons in what it is to be an Indian.

> "*It is unnecessary to mention the power which schools would have over the rising generation of Indians. Next to teaching them to work, the most important thing is to teach them the English language. Into their own language there is woven so much mythology and sorcery that a new one is needed in order to aid them in advancing beyond their baneful superstitions.*"—JOHN WESLEY POWELL

THE DARWINIAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM which La Nada Means endured is not a thing of the past. Last spring, for instance, the BIA's own Educational Division studied Chilocco and came to the following conclusions: "There is evidence of criminal malpractice, not to mention physical and mental perversion, by certain staff members." The report went on to outline the disastrous conditions at the school, noting among other things that "youngsters reported they were handcuffed for as long as 18 hours in the dormitory . . . or chained to a basement pillar or from a suspended pipe. One team member . . . verified a youngster's hurt arms, the deformed hands of another boy, and an obviously broken rib of another. . . ."

The BIA responded to this report by suppressing it and transferring the investigators who submitted it. The principal of Chilocco was fired, but more as punishment for letting such things be discovered than for the conditions themselves. The same story is repeated at other BIA boarding schools. At the Intermountain Indian School in Utah, Indian children suspected of drinking have their heads ducked into filthy toilets by school disciplinarians. At Sherman Institute in Riverside, California, students of high school age are fed on a budget of 76 cents a day.

But there is a far more damaging and subtle kind of violence at work in the school as well. It is, in the jargon of educational psychology, the initiation of a "failure-orientation," and it derives from the fact that the children and their culture are held in such obviously low regard. Twenty-five per cent of all BIA teachers admit that they would rather be teaching whites; up to 70 per cent leave the BIA schools after one year. If a teacher has any knowledge at all of his student's needs and backgrounds, he gets it from a two-week non-compulsory course offered at the beginning of the year. One teacher, a former Peace Corps volunteer who returned to teach at the Navajo reservation, told the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education that the principal of her BIA school habitually made statements such as "All Navajos are brain-damaged," and "Navajo culture belongs in a museum."

The results of the Indian's education, whether it be supervised by the BIA or by the public school system, indicates how greatly the system fails him. Twenty per cent of all Indian men have less than five years of schooling. According to a recent report to the Carnegie Foundation, there is a 60 per cent drop-out rate among Indian children as a whole, and those who do manage to stay in school fall further behind the longer they attend. A study of the Stewart Institute in Carson City, Nevada, for instance, shows that Indian sixth graders score 5.2 on the California Achievement Test. Six years later, at graduation, their achievement level is 8.4.

In a strange sense, the Indian student's education does prepare him for what lies ahead. What it teaches him is that he is powerless and inferior, and that he was destined to be so when he was born an Indian. Having spent his youth being managed and manhandled, the Indian is accustomed to the notion that his business must be taken care of for him. He is thus ideally equipped to stand by and watch the BIA collect mortgages on his future.

> "*We should test our thinking against the thinking of the wisest Indians and their friends, [but] this does not mean that we are going to let, as someone put it, Indian people themselves decide what the policy should be.*"
>
> —STUART UDALL

THE INDIANS OF CALIFORNIA have more than their share of troubles—in part because they never received an adequate land base by government treaty. They are scattered up and down the state on reservations which are rarely larger than 10,000 acres and on rancherias as small as one acre. It takes a special determination to find these Indians, for most of them live in backwoods shacks, hidden from view as well as from water and electricity.

They have to struggle for every bit of federal service they get; disservice, however, comes easy. In 1969 the only irrigation money the BIA spent in all of Southern California, where

water is an especially precious commodity to the Indians, was not for an Indian at all, but for a white farmer who had bought an Indian's land on the Pala reservation. The BIA spent $2500—of money appropriated by Congress for the Indians—to run a 900-foot pipeline to this white man's land. The Indians at Pala have been asking for irrigation lines for years, but less than one-half of their lands have them.

At the Resighini rancheria, a 228-acre reservation in Northern California, the Simpson Timber Company had been paying the Indians 25 cents per 1000 feet for the lumber it transported across their land. The total paid to the Indians in 1964 was $4725, and the right of way was increasing in value every year. Then the BIA, acting without warning, sold the right of way outright to Simpson Timber Company for $2500, or something less than one-half its yearly value.

The tiny Agua Caliente band of Indians sits on top of some of the most valuable land in the country: over 600 acres in the heart of Palm Springs. In the late '50s, the BIA, reacting to pressure from developers, obligingly transferred its jurisdiction over the Agua Caliente to a judge of the State Superior Court in the Palm Springs area who appointed "conservators" and "guardians" to make sure that the Indians would not be swindled as development took place. Ten years later, in 1967, a Riverside Press Enterprise reporter wrote a devastating series of articles showing the incredible fees collected for "protecting" the Agua Calientes. One conservator collected a fee of $9000 from his Indian's $9170 bank account; an Indian minor wound up with $3000 out of a $23,000 income, his guardian taking the rest. The "abdication of responsibility" with which the BIA was charged is surely a mild description of what happened to the Agua Calientes, who are supposedly the "richest Indians in the world" living on what is regarded as "an ermine-lined reservation."

The Indian Claims Commission was set up in the 1940's to compensate tribes for the lands stolen during the period of white conquest. In the California claims award of 1964, the Indians were given 47 cents an acre, based on the land's fair market value in 1851. The total sum, $29 million, less "offsets" for the BIA's services over the years, still has not been distributed. When it is, the per capita payout will come to about $600, and the poorest Indians in the state, will have to go off welfare to spend it. The BIA opposed an amendment to the Claims Award which would have exempted this money in determining welfare eligibility. The BIA testified that such an amendment constituted preferential treatment, and that it had been struggling for years to get *equal* treatment for the Indian. The amendment failed, and California's Indians will have to pay for a few months bread and rent with the money they are getting in return for the land that was taken from them.

Cases such as these exist in every state where Indian people live. If the Indian is the Vanishing American, it is the BIA's magic which makes him so. California Indians are fortunate only in one respect: they have an OEO-funded legal rights organization, the California Indian Legal Services, which attempts to minimize the depredations. Most Indians have no one to protect them from the agency which is supposed to be their advocate.

> *"Once we were happy in our own country and we were seldom hungry, for then the two-leggeds and the four-leggeds lived together like relatives, and there was plenty for them and for us. But the Wasichus [white men] came, and they have made little islands for us . . . and always these islands are becoming smaller, for around them surges the gnawing flood of the Wasichu; and it is dirty with lies and greed. . . ."*
>
> —BLACK ELK, AN OGLALA HOLY MAN

AT THE ENTRANCE TO THE Fort Hall reservation, where La Nada Means grew up, there is a plaque which commemorates the appearance in 1834 of the first white traders and indicates that the Hudson Bay Company later acquired the Fort and made it into an important stopover on the Oregon Trail. But other aspects of the history of Fort Hall are left unmentioned. It is not noted, for instance, that by the time a formal treaty was signed with the Bannock and Northern Shoshone in 1868, the whites who settled this part of Southern Idaho were paying between $25 and $100 for a good Indian scalp.

Today, the approximately 2800 Shoshone-Bannocks live on the 520,000-acre reservation, all that remains of the 1.8 million acres of their land which the treaty originally set aside for their ancestors to keep. The largest single reduction came in 1900, when the government took over 416,000 acres, paying the Indians a little more than $1 an acre for the land. As late as the beginning of World War II, the government took over another 3000 acres to make an airfield. It paid the Indians $10 an acre; after the war, it deeded the land to the city of Pocatello for $1 an acre, for use as a municipal airport. Each acre is now worth $500.

But the big problem on the Fort Hall reservation today is not the loss of large sections of land; rather it is the slow and steady attrition of Indian holdings and their absolute powerlessness to do anything about it. In 1887, the Dawes Allotment Act was passed as a major piece of "progressive" Indian legislation, providing for the break-up of community held reservation land so that each individual Indian would receive his plot of irrigable farming land and some grazing land. The federal government would still hold the land in trust, so it could be sold only with BIA approval, the assumption being that an individual holding would give the Indian incentive to be a farmer and thus ease him into American agricultural patterns. Fort Hall shows that the law had quite different effects.

Today, some of these original allotments are owned by anywhere from two to 40 heirs. Because of the complexity of kinship relationships, some Indian people own fractional interests in several of these "heirship lands" but have no ground that is all their own. These lands are one of the symbols of the ambiguity and inertia that rule at Fort Hall. As Edward Boyer, a former chairman of the tribal council, says, "Some of the people, they might want to exchange interests in the land or buy some of the other heirs out so they can have a piece of ground to build a house on and do some farming. Also, a lot of us would like the tribe to buy these lands up and then assign them to the young people who don't have any place of their own. But the BIA has this policy of leasing out these lands to the white farmers. A lot of the time the owners don't even know about it."

The BIA at Fort Hall doesn't like the idea of any Indian lands laying idle. And the land is rich, some of the best potato-growing land there is. Its value and its yield are increasing every year. Driving through the reservation, you can't avoid being struck by the green symmetry of the long cultivated rows and by the efficiency of the army of men and machinery working them. The only trouble is that the men are white, and the profits from Fort Hall's rich land all flow out of the Indian community. The BIA is like any technocracy: it is more interested in "efficient" use than in proper use. The most "efficient" way for Fort Hall's lands to be used is by white industrialist-farmers with capital. Thus the pattern has been established: white lessees using Indian land, irrigating with Indian water, and then harvesting with bracero workers.

All leases must be approved by the BIA Superintendent's office; they may be and are given without the consent of the Indians who own the land. The BIA has also allowed white lessees to seek "consents" from the Indians, which in effect provide for blank leases, the specific terms to be filled in later on. The BIA authorizes extremely long leases of the land. This leads to what a recent field study of Fort Hall, conducted by the Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, calls "small fortunes" for white developers: "One non-Indian in 1964 leased a large tract of Indian land for 13 years at $.30-$.50/acre/year. While the lease did stipulate that once the lessee installed sprinkler irrigation the annual rent would rise to $1.50-$2.00/acre, Indians in 1968 could have demanded $20-$30 for such land. Meanwhile, the independent University Agriculture Extension Service estimates that such potato operations bring the non-Indian lessee an annual *net* profit of $200 per acre." In addition, these leases are usually given by the BIA on a non-competitive, non-bidding basis to assure "the good will of the surrounding community." Fort Hall has rich and loamy land, but Indian people now work less than 17 per cent of it themselves and the figure is declining.

The power of white farmer-developers and businessmen within the local Bureau of Indian Affairs office is a sore point with most people at Fort Hall. They have rich lands, but theirs is one of the poorest reservations. They are told that much revenue comes both to the tribe and to individuals as a result of the BIA farm and mine leasing program, yet they know that if all the revenues were divided up the yield would be about $300 per capita a year. But for some of them, men like Joseph "Frank" Thorpe, Jr., the question of farming and mining leases is academic. Thorpe was a successful cattleman until BIA policies cut down the herds; now he is in the business of letting other people's cattle graze on his land.

Livestock are something of a fixation with Thorpe. He comes from a people who were proud horsemen, and he owns an Apaloosa mare and a couple of other horses. As he drives over the reservation, he often stops to look at others' cattle. In the basement of his home are several scrapbooks filled with documents tracing the destruction of the cattle business at Fort Hall. There is a yellowing clipping from the Salt Lake City Tribune of November 4, 1950, which says: "Fort Hall Indians have been more successful in cattle raising than any other activity. Theirs is the oldest Indian Cattleman's Association in the country. Association members raise more than 10,000 head of purebred herefords, and plan gradually to increase the herd. . . ." That was how it was 20 years ago. Thorpe, just back from war-time duty with the Marines, worked his herd and provided jobs for many of his kinsmen; the future was promising. Yet by 1958, there were only 3000 head of Indian owned cattle left, and today there are only ten families still involved in full-time cattle operation.

"Around the early '50s," Thorpe says, "the BIA decided that the Indians who'd been using tribal grazing lands without paying a grazing fee were going to be charged. The BIA also

Photograph by Alan Katowitz

made us cattle people set up a sinking fund to pay grazing fees in advance. The bills just got higher and higher, and pretty soon we found we had to start selling off our seed stock to pay them."

Less than 30 per cent of all Fort Hall Indians are permanently employed today. Men like Frank Thorpe once had a going business that harked back to the old times and also provided jobs on the reservation. The BIA had decided that the best use for Fort Hall land was farming; it removed the Indians' cattle from trust status, which meant they could be sold, and began the accelerated program of leasing Indian lands to whites that is still in effect today.

Near the BIA agency office on the reservation sits a squat, weathered concrete building. "That's the old blouse factory," he says. "The BIA cooked up this deal where some outfit from Salt Lake City came in here to start a garment plant. The tribe put up the money for the factory, about $30,000, and in return the Salt Lake people were going to hire Indians and train them to sew. It lasted for about a year, and now we've still got the building. The last few years, they've used it to store the government surplus food that a lot of Indians get."

The old blouse factory is one symbol of the despair that has seized Fort Hall. Thorpe points out another one nearby. It is known as a "holding center," and it is a place for Fort Hall Indians who are suspected of being suicidal. The reservation has one of the highest suicide rates in the nation. Last year there were 35 attempts, mostly among the 18-25 age group. Many of them occurred in the nearby Blackfoot City Jail.

Blackfoot town authorities, embarrassed by the number of Indian suicides which have occurred in their jail, now use the holding facility at Fort Hall. It is headed by John Bopp, a former Navy man who is the public health officer on the reservation. "I guess kids here just feel that their future is cut off," he says. "A lot of them are dropouts and rejects from schools. They look around and see their elders pretty downtrodden. They get angry, but the only thing they can do is take it out on themselves. From reading some of their suicide notes, I'd say that they see it as an honorable way out of a bad situation."

"The young people," says Thorpe, "they're our only hope. They've got to clean things up here. But a lot of our young guys, they've just given up." The human resources at Fort Hall, like the land, seem to be slipping away. The best interpretation that could be placed on the BIA's role in it all is to use the words of a teacher at nearby Idaho State College who says that they are "guardians of the poorhouse."

THERE ARE OTHER RESERVATIONS that seem to be in better shape. One is the mammoth Navajo reservation, whose 25,000 square miles reach into portions of Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado. On the one hand, it too is a place of despair: many of the 120,000 Navajos live in shocking poverty, doing a little subsistence farming and sheep-raising, suffering severe discrimination when they go outside the reservation for a job, and being preyed upon by the white traders and the exotic diseases which infest the reservation. But it is also a place of hope: Navajoland is rich in resources—coal, oil, uranium, and other minerals—and the tribe gets about $30 million a year from rents and royalties. While this would come to less than $1000 a year if distributed to each family, the Navajos have tried, and to some extent succeeded, in using it as seed money to begin a small but growing series of tribal industries—a sawmill, a handcrafts center, a tourist motel—which provide valuable jobs and income organized around the tribal community.

Private enterprise has also come onto the reservation, epitomized by the large Fairchild Industries plant. There has been much discussion of giving tax incentives to get industry to locate on reservations all over the country, but in general little has come of it. Of an estimated 10,000 jobs opened up by industries on Indian lands, more than half of them have been filled by whites. On the Navajo reservation, however, the tribe has seen to it that practically all the employees hired are Indian, and it seems like a good beginning. Everything there, in fact, appears to be on the upswing; the Navajos seem to be the one tribe that is beginning to solve its problems. This, however, is an oversimplification.

As far as private enterprise is concerned, the plants are mainly defense-oriented: they use federal money for job training and then work on a cost-plus basis. In effect, the government is underwriting private profit, when the same money could have gone into setting up community businesses. The Navajos do get about 1000 jobs, but they are generally low-paying and are given to women, thus destroying the ecology of the Indian family.

Roughly the same thing applies to the rapid development of their natural resources. The way in which these resources are exploited—be it strip-mining or otherwise—depends on the desires of the businesses exploiting them, not on what the Navajos want or need. One result is that the Navajos have no way of planning the development of resources for their own future needs as a community. Navajos get royalties, but private concerns off the reservation get the profits (as well as the depletion allowances, though it is Navajo resources which are being depleted). Indian people have often brought up the possibility of joint economic development of their reservation with the help of private firms. This is always rejected by the BIA, which has an age-old bias against "socialistic" tribal enterprise as well as a very contemporary regard for big business.

The Navajos are seemingly doing well, but their environment is in the hands of others who are interested only in revenue, and not in the Indians' future. The Navajos are thankful, however, for short-term gains, which most tribes don't have; and they have no choice but to leave tomorrow up to the BIA. As anthropologist David Aberle has pointed out, "Let us suppose that we cut a cross-section through the reservation territory . . . and make a rapid-motion picture of the flow of population, money and resources. . . . We would see oil, helium, coal, uranium, and vanadium draining off into the surrounding economy; we would see rents and royalties flowing into the tribal treasury, but, of course, major profits accruing to the corporations exploiting the reservation. We would see the slow development of roads, water for stock and drinking, government facilities, and so forth, and a flow of welfare funds coming in, to go out again via the trader. The net flow of many physical resources would be outward; the flow of profits would be outward; and the only major increases to be seen would be population, with a minor increment in physical facilities and consumer goods. This is the picture of a colony."

The BIA is an easy organization to whip. Its abuses are flagrant, and the Indians it is charged with protecting are in great jeopardy. But if places like the Navajo reservation resemble a colony, the BIA is no more than a corps of colonial officers whose role is not to make policy but rather to carry it out. It is impossible not to feel that the Bureau itself has, over the years, taken on the most outstanding feature of the Indians it administers: their utter lack of power. It could make life on the reservation less complicated and cruel and establish some provisions for the Indians' cultural future, but it could never solve the larger issues that lie behind federal Indian policy. The BIA is only a unit within the Department of Interior, and not a very important one at that—certainly nothing like the powerful Bureaus of Land Management and Reclamation. It is the Department of Interior itself which is involved in the big power moves in Indian affairs. As trustees both for the Indians' private trust lands and for public trust lands, it is involved in an irremediable conflict of interest which it solves by taking from the red man's vanishing domains.

THE NAVAJO RESERVATION is mainly arid, and alkaline deposits gather at the foot of the small hills like snowdrifts. Here, as on other reservations, water is a precious asset, and groundwater is minimal. And when the tribal council recently almost gave away the Navajo's rights to the Colorado River, it didn't do so willingly or with forethought; it was conned.

The population of the Colorado River Basin has exploded during this century, and there has been much feuding among the various states over water. The 1922 Colorado River Compact apportioned the Colorado River water between the Upper Basin states (Colorado, Utah, Wyoming, New Mexico and Arizona) and those of the Lower Basin (California, Nevada, and again, Arizona). After the Supreme Court water decision of 1963, Arizona conceived an ingenious plan to use the water it had been allotted: the annual 50,000 acre-feet of Upper Basin it had been awarded would be used for power to pump its Lower Basin water (2.8 million acre-feet per year), into the gigantic Central Arizona Project, thus irrigating much of the state and providing for its industrial development. The only thing standing in the way of this plan was the Navajos.

The Navajos have never yet asserted a claim to the Colorado River because their underdevelopment has not required it. But if and when they do, most water lawyers feel that their award could be very large, especially since a much smaller group of Indian tribes on the lower Colorado was awarded one million annual acre-feet in 1963 in *California vs Arizona*. The Navajos could, in fact, probably get enough of the Colorado to turn their reservation into an oasis. For this reason, and because their potential rights could destroy Arizona's plan for using the water it had been awarded (not to mention the whole basis for the apportionment of water among the Upper and Lower basin states), the Navajo tribal council was persuaded, in December 1968, to waive virtually all rights to the River "for the lifetime of the [pumping] plant, or for the next 50 years, whichever occurs first."

Actually, the Navajos were caught in the middle of some high level maneuvers. Wayne Aspinal, congressman from Colorado and chairman of the House Subcommittee on Interior and Insular Affairs, had made it clear to the Department of Interior that he would kill legislation funding the Central Arizona Project unless this waiver of the Navajos' Upper Basin Claim—which could affect his own state—was obtained. By the same token, then Secretary of the Interior Stuart Udall was committed to the Central Arizona Project which, among other things, would benefit his own home state. Thus it was he who had the resolution drafted and sent to the tribal council via the local BIA superintendent's office.

All of this would probably have gone unchallenged, perhaps to be discovered several years later, if it hadn't been for the OEO-funded legal rights organization on the reservation. This group, the DNA (the acronym derived from the Navajo phrase meaning "economic revitalization of the people"), has been a constant irritation to those who are accustomed to raiding Navajo resources, and it has earned both a large grassroots following and the enmity of the BIA-influenced tribal hierarchy.

BEHIND THE MACHINATIONS of the BIA and the grander larcenies of the Department of Interior stands the Indians' final enemy, that vague sense of doom called federal policy. It has always been sinister, and no less so today than in the days when Indian tribes were nearly annihilated by the white man's gifts of blankets saturated in smallpox. The current mode of attack began in the 1950's, with by far the most ominous title in the lexicon of Indian affairs: termination. Its objectives were stated innocuously in a 1953 act of Congress: "It is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible to make the Indians within the United States subject to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship. . . ." Cultural assassination always comes cloaked in such altruisms, and the crucial phrase, "to end their status as wards of the United States," was neatly circumscribed by florid rhetoric. But that phrase was the heart of the resolution, and its impact was disastrous.

Over the last two decades, the Indian has learned that he must fear most those who want to eliminate the Bureau of Indian Affairs and who make pompous statements about it being time "for this country to get out of the Indian business." A hundred and fifty years ago, perhaps, attaining such equilibrium with the red man would have been laudable; but America got into the Indian business for good when it stole a continent and put its inhabitants in land-locked jails. While the Indian knows that the BIA works against him most of the time, he also realizes its symbolic value as the embodiment of promises made in the treaties which secure his land and culture. Indian people and lands have been, and continue to be, terribly damaged by their relationship to the federal government. But their federal trust status guarantees their Indian-ness. And if it is terminated, they know there will be nothing left to mismanage.

The reservations which were actually terminated as a result of this sudden shift in federal policy in the '50s provide ample warning. The Minominees of Wisconsin, for instance, whose termination began in 1954 and was completed in 1961, had a stable pattern of life which was destroyed. They owned a thriving tribally-run sawmill. They had a hospital and other community services; they had a fairly large tribal bank account. Then came termination, which made the Minominees citizens of Wisconsin and nothing more. The hospital had to close down because it didn't meet state standards; the tribal bank account was doled out to the tribesmen in per capita payments, which were quickly dissipated. The sawmill became a corporation and floundered because of mismanagement, thereby no longer providing the Minominees with jobs. The Indians were supposed to become just like everyone else in Wisconsin, but today they still stand apart as among the poorest people in the state. Much of their land, which was not taxable when held in trust, has been sold at forced auctions to make up defaulted state property taxes.

Another classic case of termination is that of the Klamaths of Oregon. As part of the proceedings in 1954, their richly-forested reservation was sold off and the receipts distributed equally among enrolled members of the tribe. The payout came to over $40,000 per person, and even before it was made the predators began to descend, offering high-interest loans and a treasure house of consumer goods. A few years after termination was accomplished, many of the Klamaths were destitute and on welfare; they had no land left, no money and no future.

Because of the disasters it caused, termination is now "voluntary," although the Congressional resolution which authorized it has yet to be rescinded. Temporarily, at least, it has taken a backseat to the New Frontierish strategies like luring private enterprise onto the reservation and allocating meager OEO funds. However, today there are still tribes in the process of termination—several small ones in California and the Colvilles of Washington—and no attempt is made to stop the misinformation given Indians about the benefits that will result from such an option. Nor will termination ever disappear for good until Indians hold in their own hands the life and death powers over their communities which others now wield. Every time an Indian is "successfully" relocated in a city far from his people, it is a kind of termination, as it is when a plot of ground or the rights to water slip out of his hands. It is not necessary for Indian people to have Secretary of Interior Hickel tell them that they should "cut the cord" that binds them to their reservation, to know that termination exists as the final solution to the Indian Problem.

"He is dispossessed in life, and unforgiving. He doesn't believe in us and our civilization, and so he is our mystic enemy, for we push him off the face of the earth."

—D. H. LAWRENCE

STRANGLED IN BUREAUCRACY, swindled out of lands, forcibly alienated from his own culture, the Indian continues to be victimized by the white man's symbolism: he has been both loved and hated to death. On the one hand, the white looked out at him from his own constricted universe of acquisition and grasping egocentrism and saw a Noble Savage, an innocent at peace with his world. Here was a relic of a better time, to be protected and preserved But on the other hand the white saw an uncivilized creature possessing, but not exploiting, great riches; the vision was conjured up of the Murdering Redskin whose bestiality provided the justification for wiping him out and taking his land. The Indian's "plight" has always inspired recurrent orgies of remorse, but never has it forced us to digest the implications of a nation and culture conceived in genocide. We act as if the blood-debt of the past cannot be canceled until the Indian has no future; the guiltier he has made us, the more frantic have been the attempts to make him disappear.

Yet, having paid out almost everything he has, the Indian has survived the long exercise in white schizophrenia. And there are some, like Hopi mystic Thomas Banyaka, who give out prophecies that the red man will still be here long after whites have been destroyed in a holocaust of their own making.

Those wishing to support the occupation of Alcatraz may do so by sending checks payable to "Alcatraz Relief Fund," 3189 16th Street, San Francisco, California 94110.

THE NEW BREED

The NEW BREED is a monthly newspaper published by the Metis Society, 525 - 24th St. E., Saskatoon.

MARCH, 1970

FARMERS' WHEAT AND THE GOVERNMENT

PERMIT REFUSED — The Farmer's union has gotten 66,000 bushels of surplus wheat from the farmers to give to native people in Saskatchewan. Before the wheat can be gristed into flour, a permit must be gotten from the Canadian Wheat Board. This permit has been refused and there is no way to turn the wheat into flour.

THE REASON — The reason that the Canadian Wheat Board gave for refusing to give the permit was that other organizations have asked for free wheat so that they can SELL it to raise money for their organizations.

WON'T HURT PRICE — We told the government that this is different from our case, since we don't want to sell the flour. We want to GIVE it to people who will otherwise go hungry. The Wheat Board says it must keep the price of wheat up, and we say that giving flour to people who can't buy flour won't hurt the price of wheat.

ORGANIZE NOW — Otto Lang, M.P. from Saskatchewan, who said he would speak to people in the government about this problem has not given us any new information, and we can only guess that the government will turn its back on us, as usual. While we are trying to get the government to give some thought to the terrible problems of the native people, it is very important for native people to organize on a local level to make demands on the government to come to grips with the real problems of native people, instead of "passing the buck" from one agency to another. This always ends up with everyone saying there is nothing they can do. It is only when they feel they HAVE TO that they will act. We must make them feel that they HAVE TO.

TELL THE WORLD — Meanwhile the Metis Society will look into trying to apply to other countries for aid to our native people. We want to tell the world that Canada, which is so rich, is forcing her native people to ask other countries to help feed her Indians and Metis.

DEATHS RISING — Reports from Ottawa last month by Health Minister John Munro said that the death rate for natives has gone up 8 per cent. The report said that infant deaths among Indians in the provinces of B.C., Saskatchewan, Manitoba and the Yukon is a matter of concern. Indian women of 27 years of age had only one fifth the chance of living as long as the white women of the same age. Deaths among Indians between the ages of 25 to 29 years has increased. The rate of suicide has increased, as well as death from violence.

TRUDEAU DOESN'T ACT — The Liberals in Ottawa refused to allow a motion which would have referred this matter to the Commons Committee on Indian Affairs. Prime Minister Trudeau said that he did not want "normal Commons procedure interrupted", and that is why he refused to allow the motion.

QUESTION — The question to be asked, is "How can a government proceed with 'business as usual' in the face of a government report which states that some of its citizens are dying at an unusual rate."

NATIVE PEOPLE MUST ACT — If the government cannot do its job, then it is up to the native people and other concerned people to see that full and immediate attention is given to this urgent matter.

FIGHT FOR LIFE — American Indians know by now that their lives and culture are in danger of being wiped out. They are fighting to live. This fight if won, can have benefits for all of mankind.. ..because along with white man's inventions like big cities, cars, airplanes and rockets to the moon, comes white man's wars, poverty, pollution of air and water, killing of fish and wildlife, and of peoples and cultures that are different from whites. So if white men make the earth a place where humans cannot live, that means THEM TOO. They, like any other humans need air to breathe, water to drink, and food to eat. NATIVE PEOPLE IN THEIR OWN FIGHT TO LIVE CAN AT THE SAME TIME LEAD THE WAY TO SAVING THE WORLD FOR THE WHOLE HUMAN RACE.

STAR-PHOENIX .FEB.23

FARMERS GRIST WHEAT FOR MEADOW LAKE GRIND GRAIN GRATIS

38

About 12,000 pounds of meal destined for needy Metis families was to arrive in Meadow Lake this morning, and arrangements for distribution still appear to rest in the hands of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan.

Dr. Howard Adams, Metis Society president, said late Monday afternoon the meal, donated by Perdue area farmers, would be distributed in the Meadow Lake, Buffalo Narrows and La Loche areas by Metis Society workers today.

He said the grain was ground by the farmers because the Canadian Wheat Board has not yet taken action to issue the Metis Society a milling permit.

Dr. Adams said he had been again asked by Welfare Minister Cy MacDonald Monday to produce a list of 5,194 Metis in 25 Saskatchewan communities, whom the Metis Society says have asked for flour.

He repeated his reason for refusing to release the names on the list — that to do so would be breaking a confidence.

In addition, he claimed many Metis who had signed the list, said they wanted assurance that provincial welfare officials would not have access to it because they fear hostile action by welfare workers in their areas.

Dr. Adams said the truckload of meal left Monday afternoon with no hint of interference. He added there are no immediate plans for more gristing by farmers in the area, but said that more could be ground in a few days, depending on how Metis families react to receiving the meal and whether they like it.

Grant Miller, a Perdue farmer, said the farmers met in his yard to process a wheat, flax and rye mixture, 190 bushels in all, to make a breakfast cereal for Metis families he had been told were in need of food.

Mr. Miller said the grain was being ground by a hammer mill, sacked by hand, and would be sent by truck to Meadow Lake and northward for distribution by members of the Metis Society of Saskatchewan. There would be no charge for the recipients, he said.

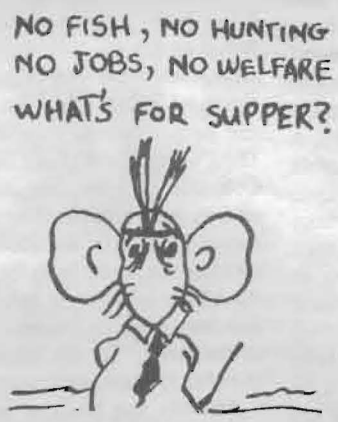
Mr. Miller said he believed one load of the meal wouldn't be sufficient, adding he had been told some farmers in the North Battleford area were also planning a similar operation.

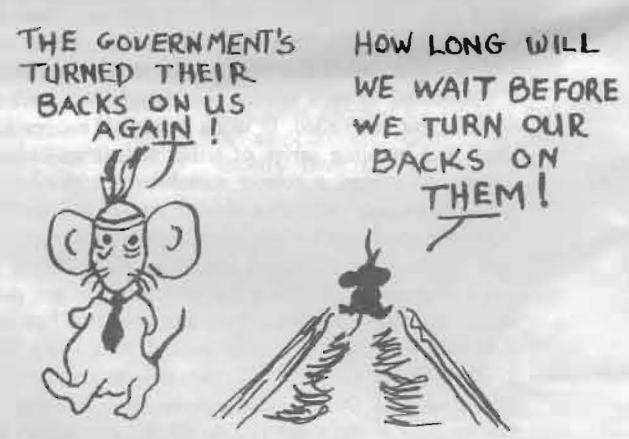
Dr. Stanley Haidasz (Lib. Toronto-Parkdale), head of the delegation sent to Saskatchewan by Health and Welfare Minister John Munro to check out reports by the Metis Society of Saskatchewan that more than 5,000 Metis in the province were near starvation, said Saturday delegates found no indication in two communities they visited that Metis were hungry or starving.

Dr. Haidasz, Ab Douglas (Lib.—Assiniboia), Jack Nightscales, special assistant to Mr. Munro, and Norman Cragg, a Canada Assistance Plan official, flew to the two communities Saturday specifically seeking Metis who were either hungry or on the verge of starvation, or Metis who could tell them of others who were.

The delegates, accompanied by Mayor Jackson and a provincial welfare department official, then visited four Metis households and talked with families, also stopping to ask Metis seen on the streets about their problems.

Bert Jackson, Meadow Lake mayor, told Dr. Haidasz if Indians and Metis in the area were starving, he didn't know of them.





EDITORIAL

Incredible is one way to describe the denial of wheat to 879 Metis families in Saskatchewan because of a Canadian Wheat Board regulation.

If the regulation and the bureaucratic structure of the federal government actually have combined to set up this unbelievable situation, the minister responsible for the Canadian Wheat Board, Hon. Otto Lang, and Chief Commissioner W. C. MacNamara must get busy immediately and cut the red tape.

Either one could facilitate the gift of grain from Saskatchewan Farmers Union members, but their one defence is that the Wheat Board is a marketing agency and does not make a decision regarding charitable relief.

That excuse is pretty tight fence-walking. for the federal authority gives millions of bushels of wheat in aid to countries abroad, under the Colombo Plan and other schemes. This gift or charitable aid is now in the realm of $70.000.000 in wheat according to a statement made by Prime Minister Trudeau at the end of the federal-provincial conference on Tuesday.

This is yet another chapter in the dismal story of Prime Minister Trudeau's Just Society.

Last Jan. 26, it was reported, the committee in charge of the grain gift asked Mr. Lang for the necessary permit book to allow distribution of the grain to go ahead.

By February 17, Mr. Lang apparently had not acknowledged the committee's application. Members of the committee are: Dr. Howard Adams, the Rev. John Owens, and Sister Rae Stewart, and they deserve great public support.

Canada's wheat surplus is estimated at about 1,000,000,000 bushels, or 50 bushels per capita, and Saskatchewan alone must have about 500,000,000 bushels on farms and in elevators.

Yet, Ottawa can't find it in its arsenal of techniques and knowhow to pry loose a few thousand bushels of wheat for Saskatchewan's hungry families. — SASKATOON STAR-PHOENIX

THIS IS PART OF A SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT PUBLISHED BY THE LONDON (ONTARIO) FREE PRESS. THE ENTIRE 16-PAGE ISSUE IS WORTH SENDING FOR IF YOU WANT A TOTAL PICTURE OF CANADIAN INDIAN POLITICS.

The London Free Press

These people are neither nuts nor fanatics, nor are they an anachronism. Mrs. Greene was brought up an Anglican and her father was a lay reader in the church. She looks around at her comfortable little home . . . and she declares: "I would give more than all this for the legal rights of my people — I would give my life." (Mrs. Alma Greene is a clan mother).

Warning of violence in sovereignty

The situation of the Six Nations Iroquois Confederacy, whose council of hereditary chiefs in September declared independence from Canada, is unlike that of any other Indian tribe except that they do face the same problems.

The independence declaration was not something new, nor is it without legal basis, but the people themselves are divided on the question and many feel the sovereign nation concept simply cannot be made to work.

The constitution of the confederacy dates back six centuries, long before the white man came, and it worked extremely well with its system of clan mothers and hereditary chiefs.

But in 1924, contrary to the treaty rights of the Iroquois, the federal government arbitrarily removed the hereditary chiefs from power and installed an elective council, using the RCMP. Bitter hostility developed between the elected leaders and the hereditary chiefs, and their supporters on both sides.

It became worse 10 years ago when the hereditary advocates revolted at the Six Nations reserve near Brantford and seized the council house, or seat of government. After holding it for a week, they were put out by the RCMP, who are no longer welcome among the confederacy people.

The confederacy people claim support of an overwhelming majority of the Iroquois, but it's hard to establish just how accurate the claim is. The Iroquois certainly believe in their confederacy and its constitution, and they resent high-handed white intrusion in their affairs, but many of them are realistic about the terms of today.

There are those who will not accept government welfare benefits, but the majority do, simply because this is the way life is today.

The Iroquois were the allies of the British in colonial days, and thus enemies of the French and later of the Americans. It has been speculated that had the French not sided with the Hurons (also Iroquois) against the confederacy, France might have won the struggle for Canada and the Hurons would not have been destroyed.

The Iroquois, except Huron, originally all lived on the south side of Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, but after the American War of Independence they migrated to British protection and the colonial government purchased lands for them in Ontario and at Montreal. This was in recognition of their help and in compensation for their tremendous losses in a series of wars up to 1812.

One exception was the Oneidas, who migrated to what is now Delaware Township, southwest of London, and bought their own land which remains today their settlement.

Although all Indian tribes had hereditary systems, the constitution of the confederacy was so remarkably sophisticated that it astonished Europeans. The purists who cling to the constitution today refuse to vote in any election, including their own, because to do so would be to acknowledge themselves Canadian citizens. Nor, as allies of the British treated accordingly by treaty, do they consider themselves governed by the Indian Act.

When elections were held at Six Nations reserve Dec. 13, only 500 out of 4,000 eligible voters cast ballots. How much of this was due to opposition to the elective system, and how much represented pure apathy, is impossible to determine.

The resurgence of the independence issue in recent months has been stimulated by two developments: the federal government's new Indian policy, and an Ontario Hydro proposal to put an easement across the Six Nations reserve.

The federal policy would turn land titles over to individual Indians who might then be able to sell their reserve land to non-Indians if the elected council agreed, and this could be the end of the reservation which most Indians regard as their last retreat and stronghold.

It is not, however, only the hereditary chiefs who opposed the policy. The vast majority of Iroquois and other Indians from coast to coast reject it.

In the case of the hydro easement, which would have meant about 570 acres less land for homes, the elected council merely agreed to talk with hydro officials, that was all. Nevertheless, supporters of the confederacy prevented the hydro men from coming on the reserve and refused to permit any talks at all. They regard the elected people as puppets of the white government and even as traitors.

Under the original hereditary system, politics and religion were combined and there was no such thing as the Longhouse religion

RCMP evicted hereditary chiefs of the Six Nations from their council house in 1924, but in 1959 these followers of the hereditary chiefs seized the hall and held it for a week. Again they were put out by RCMP.

(15)

which is very much alive today among the Iroquois. The Longhouse religion was established about 150 years ago by a Seneca prophet, Handsome Lake, who preached for 15 years in upstate New York.

Indian culture had been declining everywhere because of the inroads of white culture, economics and religion. Handsome Lake was one of the Indian prophets who tried to rescue their people from a pitiable state, and the Longhouse religion he designed parallels the traditional religious teachings as well as containing some Christian elements.

It was an attempt to revise and update the culture and gather the Indians back together. They had fallen away and much of the blame was laid to liquor by Indians themselves.

"The big mistake he made," says clan mother Mrs. Anne MacNaughton of Six Nations reserve, "was in eliminating the council fires (where the Indians both worshipped and held their political meetings)." Instead he created the Longhouse and put it into a religion, separating religion from the rest of Indian life, which is completely contrary to Indian tradition.

Separation of the Longhouse and council house, says the youthful Mrs. MacNaughton, "was the beginning of the split. Both are wrong for the Iroquois Confederacy. Let's put it this way, it paved the way for the elective system. I don't believe in the Longhouse or the elective system."

Under the original system, children inherited their name from the mother's side — it's not always possible to be sure of the father — and names were accurate that way, says Mrs. MacNaughtoh, a historian as well as a clan mother of the Turtles, one of nine Mohawk tribes.

Under 'the Great Law' of the Iroquois, each clan mother appointed a chief from her tribe. He held office until death, or until he committed a crime or opposed the teachings of the confederacy and De-ka-nah-wi-dah, the Great Spirit. Selection of a chief by the clan mother involved "all kinds of qualities, and his record," says Mrs. MacNaughton.

"Handsome Lake wrecked the system," she says. The Longhouse people appoint either a man or woman to choose a chief, "and this has wrecked the great confederacy."

Mrs. MacNaughton is emphatic about the strength, prevalence and rightness of the old beliefs: "The majority of the people support the old system — there are as few Handsome Lake supporters here as there are elective supporters."

And as for the problems besetting the Six Nations today, she says, "I think this could very well be settled and cleared up. The people know there's something wrong and they're searching."

Another clan mother, white-haired Mrs. Alma Greene: "The constitution of the confederacy is the message of peace and goodwill from the Great Spirit. The ancient confederacy was dissolved in 1924 by order-in-council, but the power of the Great Spirit will live forever. When God the creator speaks, that is the divine message that each individual should follow.

"But we have some traitors and these are the 12 councillors of the Indian Act. They swear allegiance to the Crown and away go their treaty rights. As members of the Six Nations confederacy we do not join any organization, including the Union of Ontario Indians."

These people are neither nuts nor fanatics, nor are they an anachronism. Mrs. Greene was brought up an Anglican and her father was a lay reader in the church. She looks around at her comfortable little home, the television, the china and glassware, and she declares: "I would give more than all this for the legal rights of my people — I would give my life."

She can remember when the first permanent record was made, in drawings, of the confederacy constitution, which had been passed by word of mouth from generation to generation for more than 500 years.

It took seven years, and then was translated into English by Duncan Scott, Indian superintendent, one white official Mrs. Greene remembers fondly.

Author of a book now being published in England, and of numerous articles, Mrs. Greene is a mystic, as basically the Indians have always been. She burns sacred tobacco for thee Great Spirit's guidance and help. "I turn the lights down and I talk to my creator."

The Iroquois Confederacy was working toward a continental confederation of Indian tribes when the white man came. A similar move was underway again after the First World War, the Iroquois say, when it was nipped by the white governments in the United States and Canada who imposed the elective system on all bands which had not already adopted it.

But the Iroquois confederacy people still see their role as leaders in uniting all Indians as a sovereign people.

Mrs. MacNaughton produces wampum belts and an engraved peace pipe, both covered with symbols. Nobody knows how old they are, but they are original documents of treaties with the white man. White and brown lines the length of the belts, indicate white and brown men, progressing together each under his own laws but never intermingling, separate, "each in his own canoe", but equal.

The clan mother, as "the holder of peace and power", she has even greater responsibility than the hereditary chiefs whom she appointed.

The Six Nations reserve, about 12 miles square with 7,000 people, once stretched 12 miles back from each side of the Grand River from its mouth to its source. The traditionalists claim the land was illegally taken from them.

They produce copies of centuries-old documents, one of which shows that no purchase of lands is to be made from the Indians except at a general meeting at which the principal chiefs of each affected tribe is present.

The constitution provides for 52 chiefs, but not all of them are principal chiefs, who are one to each nation or tribe and ordained by De-ka-nah-wi-dah, bestowed with an Indian title to exist forever, and only they have the authority to transact "national" affairs.

"Many deeds have been transacted in the past without the names of the principal chiefs," Mrs. MacNaughton says. "I have a copy of a deed bearing the name "Teatup" who was one to surrender 807 acres of our land for five shillings. This is not an Indian name and is certainly not one of the ordained titles.

"How many names of the principal chiefs were on the deed to surrender our Glebe property? We are very close to spring, and we have endured many winters of silence. It is time for a good housecleaning."

The Glebe property was about 98 acres in Brantford, sold to that city. The elected council held a plebiscite on whether to sell, but the people stayed away in droves from the voting places. The property was sold — "stolen", say the people of the old constitution.

"We're going to get it back, if there's any law in Canada," asserts the angry Mrs. Greene.

She also says that in 1870 the confederacy called together delegations of all the Indians in Canada to discuss the federal Indian Act, and together they rejected it except for two sections. She speaks on, about promises and proclamations dating back to 1766, guaranteeing protection of Indian land and non-interference in internal affairs.

Not all followers of Christianity on the reserve support the elected council, and not all longhouse people follow the hereditary chiefs. In fact, some serve on the elected council. There are four longhouses on the reserve. Even before the elective system, it wasn't necessary to be a longhouse adherent to be appointed chief.

Hereditary Chief Joseph Logan has said that those who accept the Indian Act by voting not only reject the confederacy but also their religion and their Iroquois status. This caused a sharp break between the members of the Lower Cayuga and the Onondaga longhouses.

Many people, though they respect and might prefer the old system, say it's too late now to go back, that it won't work, but the hereditary supporters say it not only can be done, but must be done.

Nonetheless, there have been warnings from Six Nations leaders of potential violence on the reserve if the issue of sovereignty is not resolved. Even people who say the old constitutional form should be, and could be, the real government of Six Nations, are critical at the same time of the present hereditary chiefs whom they accuse of inconsistency, hypocrisy and violation of the constitution's terms themselves. "They have shown themselves unable to live by the Great Law."

Toronto, Tues., Feb. 3, 197

RON HAGGART 40

Paul Bird and white man's law

WHEN AN ordinary citizen of Ontario goes into a police station and says, "John Smith just beat me up," the investigation of the complaint enters the easy and familiar routine of police procedure.

A policeman will interview those he can find who seem to have some knowledge of the events, including John Smith himself. Then, if the complaint seems to make some sense, the policeman will appear before a justice of the peace and swear out an information, saying that he has reasonable and probable grounds for believing that John Smith has committed an offense.

But something other than the familiar routine takes place, it appears, when the citizen who complains at the police station is an Indian in Northern Ontario.

Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens found this out last April when they went into the detachment of the Ontario Provincial Police at Hearst, their swollen faces still bearing the marks of the beating they had received a few minutes before from one Claude Comeau, the owner of the Queen's Hotel.

A family gathering

It was just before supper time on Saturday, April 5, and two or three tables of Indians were in the hotel beer parlor. They were all related in one way or another and had come from Kapuskasing and from Toronto and from other places for a family meeting.

A couple of white men at a nearby table made some rude remarks about Paul Bird's mother and one of them came over and began to fondle her headband. When Paul, a slightly-built man in his mid-20s was on his way to the washroom, one of the white men called him over, spoke to him, and then slapped him across the face.

A scuffle began and Paul grabbed the white man to stop him. The owner of the place, Claude Comeau, came over.

Comeau demanded that "you'd better get out, and your friends better get out, too.

Comeau grabbed him and began to punch and push him for 50 feet across the room although Paul Bird did not fight back. Elizabeth Stevens ran over and hollered, "Stop, stop." Comeau turned and punched her twice in the face, giving her a swollen cheek and lip.

Paul Bird was punched across the room some more and into the washroom where he was beaten again. Some other white men helped Comeau do it.

This is the version of the fight which some months later was accepted by a judge as being the truth of the matter. He fined Claude Comeau $50 for assaulting Paul Bird and $50 for assaulting Elizabeth Stevens.

Ross McClellan, who was working with the Ontario Indian Development Branch at the time, says: "The case was of considerable importance. Despite the high frequency of assaults against Indian people in the Hearst area, this was the first time that a local Indian person attempted to obtain redress and protection from the law by pressing charges against his assailant."

But the sad and depressing fact is that the law enforcement agencies of Ontario, the police and the prosecutors, lifted not a finger to assist Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens. They had to do it all themselves; they even had to hire a private prosecutor and he (not the police) interviewed the witnesses and he (not the local Crown Attorney) conducted the case in court to its ultimate and successful conclusion.

A difference in law

Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens went straight from the Queen's Hotel to the OPP detachment in Hearst. The constable who interviewed them said later that neither was drunk. Bird had a gash over one eye (the scar was still there a month later) and his face was covered in blood and his eyes were filled with tears.

As Paul Bird told his story of the assault, he stopped every once in a while and went into the hallway, obviously to cry.

The policeman called in a local part-time justice of the peace, W. C. (Chum) Trowsse, who is an employee of the Department of Lands and Forests, and it was then that the first distinction appeared between justice as it is administered for Indians and justice as it is administered for everyone else in Ontario.

The OPP constable did not swear an information before Mr. Trowsse declaring that he had reasonable and probable grounds for believing that Claude Comeau had committed an offense, although that is what happens tens of thousands of times a year in the ordinary routine of police life.

Instead, Mr. Trowsse accepted the sworn information from Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens themselves. The two Indians, who are both slightly built, shy and reticent, and entirely innocent of the ways of the law, had no idea of the significance of this manoeuvre. It launched their case on the road to being a "private prosecution," one in which the police and the Crown Attorney would play no part.

Only a few weeks ago, Attorney General Arthur Wishart explained to the Legislature: "The Crown Attorney was not asked to act. Apparently there was a move on foot to bring somebody else in" (i.e. a private prosecutor).

But there was, of course, no "move on foot" to bring in a private prosecutor when Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens appeared at the OPP detachment a couple of minutes after they were beaten up. And most citizens of Ontario do not have to "ask" the Crown Attorney to serve on their behalf. For most citizens that happens automatically except, it appears, when the citizens are Indian.

Almost two months later, no report of the incident had been written by the OPP, no witnesses had been interviewed and the case was proceeding to trial as a "private prosecution" with a lawyer from Toronto doing the job which is ordinarily done by the Crown Attorney.

The local attitude was typified by the question an OPP constable asked when Paul Bird first arrived at the police station to complain that he, a slender man of 145 pounds, had been beaten by Claude Comeau, a hefty man approaching 200 pounds. "Why didn't you fight back?" asked the OPP.

"I knew," says Paul Bird, "that if I did, I'd be the only one charged."

Officials kept hands off

The case was of great significance in Hearst because, for the first time anyone could remember, two Indians were prosecuting a white man for assault. Questions were eventually asked as to why the Crown Attorney did not prosecute and the official explanation has always been that he did not act because the Indians did not want him to, that it was the decision of the Indians themselves to push him aside and hire their own lawyer to prosecute. He was James Karswick, of Toronto.

Reporting to Attorney General Arthur Wishart, Crown Attorney Gerard Cloutier said:

I would have prosecuted this case at no expense to Mr. Bird. However, Mr. Karswick wanted to prosecute the case, which he did.

And the Attorney General himself told the Legislature in December:

The Crown Attorney was not asked to act. Apparently there was a move to bring somebody else in because the Indians, unfortunately, apparently did not trust, and did not wish to follow, our usual procedures.

The "usual procedures" include, of course, the services of the Crown Attorney, who almost automatically prosecutes the cases which come before the court. "I always prosecute the cases on the list," says Crown Attorney Cloutier.

But long before the case ever got to court on May 26, some two months after the assault, the Indians of Hearst and others had good reason to believe that the usual law enforcement services of the state, the police and prosecutor, would not be available to two Indians named Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens.

One week after the assault, an officer of the Ontario Human Rights Commission met with the OPP constable and the JP in Hearst who had made out the original charge. In a report written on April 13, just after that interview, Bruce Lenton said:

Mr. Trowsse (the JP) stated that it would be up to Mr. Paul Bird to bring his witnesses to court and then proceed with his own case.

The officer (that is, Lenton himself) asked if the Crown Attorney would present Mr. Bird's case. Mr. Trowsse replied that he would not, but that he would be present not to aid either side but to assure that all the evidence was presented.

The dispute is private

Ross McClellan, who at the time was working in Hearst with the Ontario Indian Development Branch, was also at the meeting and came away with the same impression. Lenton, the human rights officer, reported:

Mr. Trowsse replied that the matter was regarded as a private one between Mr. Bird and the proprietor.

The "proprietor" was the man charged with assault, Claude Comeau, who, as the owner of the Queen's Hotel, is a citizen of no little importance in the community of Hearst.

And it was Trowsse who decided on the charge of simple assault, which can be prosecuted in court by anyone, rather than a charge of assault causing bodily harm, which *must* be prosecuted by the Crown Attorney and, in view of the physical injuries of the two Indians standing before him, was the obvious charge to lay.

The two Indians were innocent of this distinction, of course, as almost any citizen would be. Crown Attorney Cloutier and his supervisors, S. A. Caldbick, of Timmins, did not participate in this decision, but neither did they do anything to exert the Crown's prerogative to prosecute when the situation was brought to Caldbick's attention about a month before the trial.

It was not until April 24, some two weeks after Lenton's interview with the JP, that the Toronto lawyer was first approached by the Union of Ontario Indians to prosecute the case.

A SMALL vignette full of sad irony greeted James Karswick when he reached the lumber and railroad settlement of Hearst, Ont., to prosecute the assault charge two battered Indians had laid against Claude Comeau, owner of the local hotel and beer parlor.

As Karswick sat in the audience watching the court proceedings, he listened to the local Crown Attorney vigorously prosecuting another assault charge, one which had been laid against three young toughs by none other than the same Claude Comeau.

Crown Attorney Gerard Cloutier questioned the witnesses (the three young toughs were eventually convicted) and from time to time glanced at the "dope sheet" in front of him, the report of the investigation made by the Ontario Provincial Police. It struck Karswick as curious that when hotel owner Claude Comeau was the complainant in an assault case, the law enforcement agencies of police and prosecution took over in their routine and competent way. But when Claude Comeau was the defendant and, more important, when the complainants were Indian, it somehow transpired that the Indians had to import their own prosecutor from 500 miles away in Toronto.

This flagrant case of discrimination by the white man's law was briefly (and inadequately) discussed in the closing days of the Ontario Legislature in December. Attorney General Arthur Wishart read into the record a report prepared for him by the Crown Attorney who covers the Hearst-Kapuskasing area, Mr. Cloutier, who wrote:

Mr. Karswick seems to have expressed great displeasure if not indignation at the fact that it was necessary for Mr. Bird (the Indian victim of the assault) to retain a solicitor from Toronto. Well, he certainly did not express it until this time. This point seems to be raised only now that the matter of his bill is being discussed . . .

If the purpose of this report read into the legislative record was to implant the idea that James Karswick was some kind of ambulance-chaser who rushed up from Toronto to extort huge fees from innocent Indians, the attempt was more than successful.

When the Attorney General read the words about Karswick's bill, James Bullbrook, of the Liberals, shouted out: "What a leveling effect!" And, a minute later, when the report went on to say snidely that it was "very unusual" to have CBC people in Hearst for the trial, Elmer Sopha, of the Liberals, cried out: "Oh boy! Sounds like an NDP plot."

That was the total extent of the interest shown by the official Opposition, the Liberals, to the extraordinary case raised by NDP leader Donald MacDonald in which two Indians with blotches and blood all over their faces had to hire their own lawyer to prosecute an assault charge against a white man.

Resentment underneath

An undercurrent of resentment that Paul Bird and Elizabeth Stevens, who are Indians, should deign to charge a white man with assault, merely because they had swollen cheeks and lips and a gashed forehead, lies under the surface of the official reports. To quote Mr. Cloutier again:

. . . it would have been easier for Mr. Karswick to retain able counsel in this area, thereby saving a lot of money for the victims.

That's the ambulance-chaser charge. Mr. Cloutier also wrote:

It seems to me that the nature of the injuries are somewhat exaggerated in Mr. Karswick's letter. If he felt they were as serious as he says, he could very easily have arranged to have had a more serious charge laid. But he chose not to do so.

The ingenuous condescension of that statement is difficult to understand (unless you are an Indian in Northern Ontario or, as another example, a Negro in Alabama).

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CANADA

LIFE FOR THE BILL OF RIGHTS

I am not here to dispense justice. I am here to dispose of this case according to law. Whether this is or is not justice is a question for the legislature to determine.

SO Manitoba's Chief Justice Sir Thomas W. Taylor summed up, in the 1890s, the bedrock principle in the Canadian system of parliamentary democracy that Parliament can do no wrong. Last week, in an epochal 6-3 decision, the Supreme Court of Canada for the first time used the Bill of Rights to strike down an enactment of Parliament. It ruled that the 1960 Bill can override any other federal legislation that would deny the civil liberties the Bill extends. The decision not only breathes judicial life into the Bill of Rights. It gives the Supreme Court a new dimension as an arbiter of federal legislation, responsible to dispense not just law but justice.

The landmark decision came in a case of a sort that does not often go all the way to the Supreme Court: a conviction for drunkenness. On the April evening in 1967 when Joe Drybones, a Dogrib Indian, drank himself into a stupor in Yellowknife's Old Stope Hotel, it is safe to say he had no premonition that he would pass into history. As far as Joe was concerned, he simply passed out in the lobby, and was fined $10 for "unlawfully being intoxicated off the reserve."

BILL LISTER

PURDY & DRYBONES
Equality before the law.

A few days later, Judge William Morrow of the NWT territorial court was in the office of the clerk of the court, and his eye happened to fall on the papers in the case. "Off the reserve?" he asked. "How can a man be off his reserve when there are no reserves in the Northwest Territories?" Turning to Yellowknife Lawyer Brian Purdy, the judge said: "Purdy, appeal this case."

Direct Challenge. Purdy did—and since Morrow was the judge who heard the appeal, was hardly surprised to win an acquittal. The basis of Judge Morrow's decision was that the federal Indian Act, by providing harsher penalties in the Northwest Territories for liquor offenses for Indians than apply to anyone else,* violated Joe Drybones' right under the Bill of Rights to "equality before the law." Up to that time, the courts had held that the Bill of Rights, a statute like any other, was not intended by Parliament to prevail over other legislation. Moreover, the Supreme Court had never faced a direct conflict squarely, and Judge Morrow was determined to give it the chance to do so. "In my opinion," he ruled, "when there is an irreconcilable conflict between another act of Parliament and the Bill of Rights, the latter must prevail."

On the Crown's appeal, the Supreme Court sided 6-3 with Morrow. Writing the Court's majority opinion, Mr. Justice Roland Ritchie concluded that if any federal law infringes the rights enumerated in the 1960 charter, "then such law is inoperative" unless Parliament expressly declares otherwise. Among other things, wrote Ritchie, this means that "no individual or group of individuals is to be treated more harshly than another under the law."

Although Ritchie made clear that the Court was only striking down the provision of the Indian Act that deals with liquor, there are obvious wider implications. Not only many other sections of the Indian Act, but the Broadcasting and Immigration Acts provide for discrimi-

WALTER PETRIGO

JUDGE MORROW IN YELLOWKNIFE
Jurisdiction to the pole.

natory treatment on the basis of race or nationality. Led by Chief Justice John R. Cartwright, the three dissenting judges were alarmed by the implications. Mr. Justice Douglas C. Abbott argued that the majority decision will be seen as implying "a wide delegation of the legislative authority of Parliament to the courts," a power that would descend on "every justice of the peace, magistrate and judge of any court in the country." For Mr. Justice Louis-Philippe Pigeon, giving primacy to the Bill of Rights amounted to "a virtual suppression of federal legislation over Indians."

Moral Limitation. Parliament is still, of course, supreme in that it can at any time declare the Indian Act or any other legislation exempt from the provisions of the Bill of Rights—or for that matter do away with the Bill itself. But whether in the light of the Court's decision it would be politically wise to do so is another question. Buttressing that moral limitation there can be no doubt that the Supreme Court has put itself in a position to limit Parliament's powers in the area of individual liberties.

Joe Drybones was off on his traplines north of Great Slave Lake last week and unaware of his victory. In any event, he is unlikely to celebrate with a toot, since he has hardly touched a drop since that night at the Old Stope.

Indian Education System Slammed

Canadian Indians are tired of being observed, researched, studied and examined.

This message was made clear as president of the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada, Walter Currie, welcomed the "whiteman" to the Canadian Council on Educational Research here Tuesday.

But the association president went on to slam Canadian school systems which he claimed label Indians as "brown-skinned white people."

Last year, 186 Indians made it into university. The figure should have been closer to 3,500 if you compare figures with the white community, said Mr. Currie.

The educational courses for the native population must relate to conditions today, he said. Parents must be allowed to get involved, something which was hindered by current legislation.

He also stressed the need for the native people's history, verbally passed on from generation to generation, to be taught in native schools.

Mr. Currie was one of three panel members.

Mr. Garnet McDiarmid, of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, said there was a need of a nationally distributed index listing research done on Canada's native people.

In Canadian social study textbooks, Indians come out at the bottom of the totem pole, he claimed.

A study conducted by the OISE and the Ontario Human Rights Commission, scheduled to be made public in about a month, is expected to back up Mr. McDiarmid's statement.

He said the study has delved into all textbooks authorized by the Ontario department of Education which deals with Indians and Eskimos.

Professor Andre Renaud, of the University of Saskatchewan, outlined five points concerning research into the native population:

—Lack of funds to carry out research;

—Lack of qualified persons to do the work;

—Duplication;

—Poorly conceived research programs;

—The fact Indians are tiring of constant observation.

Indian Must Overcome Self-Image

Walter Currie, an assistant superintendent of education in Northern Ontario, told a group of Grade 13 students here Tuesday of the problems that constantly face Indian people.

"The Indian's main problem that he has to overcome is his self-image. It takes generations to make this self-image and it has been carried out too successfully," Mr. Currie told 100 Brantford Collegiate Institute students.

"An Indian comes off the reserve, doesn't have anything for sale on the workers' market and ends up a prostitute or on drugs or in jail," he said.

Mr. Currie said the process of developing the lack of self pride in an Indian begins at a young age. It comes from movies, books, television, schools, lack of parental teachings and from white Christian culture.

"At the movies every Saturday, we would surround the wagon train and I'd think 'Hot damn, we've got them this week.' Then over the hill came Hoot Gibson and the boys and we lost again," he said.

"I can laugh at this today, but put yourself in the position of an 8 or 9-year-old boy and it isn't funny to be on the losing side all the time.

"In books, we're savages. On television we now win sometimes, but only because the Cartwrights, the good white men, are helping us. I would challenge the rightness of what you have been taught in school about my people," he said.

Mr. Currie, an Ojibway, said his nation passes history verbally, unlike the Six Nations band which practices its history. Consequently, he said, his parents were unable to teach him much about his people.

Two white Christian cultural terms that Mr. Currie despises are the broad classification of Indian and the animalistic inference from words such as "full-blooded."

"I am no more just an Indian than you are just white kids," he said. "I am an Ojibway. You are Canadians. Your parents may be English, French or Polish. We have nations too and Ojibway is one of them.

"And, please don't call me full-blooded, half-breed, mestizo, mulatto or any of those other terms. They make me think of animals. These are words created by a white western Christian culture for those people who's skin is not white and they are dirty words to the non-white," said Mr Currie.

Indian housing goal impossible

By PATRICK O'CALLAGHAN
Spectator Ottawa Bureau

OTTAWA — The massive program mounted in 1965 to ensure that each Indian and Eskimo family should be adequately housed before 1970 has fallen far short of its goal.

And hopes of reaching that goal in the next five years remain an almost impossible dream.

When the program was begun, it was estimated that $75 million would be needed from federal funds, plus another $9 million from other sources.

Another $250 million would have to be found if the goal were to be attempted in the next five years.

However, a brief by the department of Indian affairs and northern development says that such findings should not be provided by way of direct government subsidy. For one thing, says the brief—presented this morning to the Senate special committee on poverty — such a total outlay is prohibitive. And housing provided in this way remains "government" housing, with its occupants lacking a pride in ownership.

THE DEPARTMENT admits that the housing dilemma is yet to be resolved and says: "We are now searching for more effective ways to assist Indian families to acquire adequate accommodation."

It claims that while many Indians live in abject poverty, an increasing number are self-supporting and could meet normal housing costs. The acceleration planned in economic development programs could bring many more Indians into this category.

When the 1965 program began, it was estimated that the needs of the Indian and Eskimo peoples amounted to 12,350 family units.

Up to the end of last March, 6,870 new units were acquired, but a survey then taken showed that 9,071 more units would be needed within five years.

The brief says that the backlog of houses required increased to 8,330 in 1969. Only Manitoba showed no increase in the backlog and, in several cases, the backlog had almost doubled.

A SURVEY of the housing conditions of Eskimos in the Northwest Territories and the northern portion of Quebec showed that of the 11,416 people accommodated in 1,910 separate units, 1,966 were occupying 382 igloos or tents while another 2,041 were living in 390 unacceptable houses.

Of the remaining 1,156 units, only a few were larger than one room. Six was the average number of occupants of a single-room dwelling.

There existed an urgent need for 1,600 new housing units.

Say No Proper Accounting Of Funds for Indian Housing

(By the CP) — The northern development department has been advancing thousands of dollars to Indian bands for housing construction without getting a proper accounting for expenditure of the money, the Commons public accounts committee learned Tuesday.

Auditor-General A. M. Henderson told the committee, which is studying his report for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1968—that in 1966-67, the department had advanced about $100,000 for housing construction to Indian bands considered able to manage their own affairs.

Further advances totalling $329,000 had been made the following year. Of the total advances of $429,000, there remained $250,000 still not properly accounted for.

During the year ending March 31, 1969, the government had advanced $1,400,000 and $529,000 of this still had not been covered by certification.

J. H. Gordon, acting deputy minister of the department, told the committee that the funds were advanced in line with the policy that Indians capable of doing so should take over administration of fields previously administered by the federal government.

He said that undoubtedly certification for the funds should have been obtained from the bands involved but some lacked knowledge of procedures in business administration.

Transfer Indian Affairs

TORONTO (CP) — Responsibility for Indian affairs will be transferred from John Yaremko, minister of social and family services, to the department of citizenship under Robert Welch, a cabinet spokesman said Tuesday night.

Mr. Yaremko's handling of Indian affairs was severely criticized last year.

Mr. Yaremko's department had failed to spend $1,000,000 of the $1,400,000 allotted as the provincial budget for Indian programs in 1968.

Mr. Yaremko had said the province was hamstrung in its Indian programs until Ottawa and Toronto decide whether the federal or provincial government has financial responsibility for Indians.

TAPE

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DON TAYLOR Publisher & Editor

Where do you stand, Mr. Chrétien?

AN EDITORIAL

There has developed in our country over many years a malady of increasing seriousness and complexity which is calling with a loud and anguished voice for treatment.

It is often referred to by white society as the "Indian Problem," and sometimes by the Indians as the "White Problem."

It is difficult, if not impossible to sum up or define all that this ailment involves because it is not really one ailment at all but many problems fuelled by diverse conflicts and circumstances and built on the foundation of many past errors and injustices. The situation has developed because as each new conflict arose over the years it was resolved for the benefit of one race of people and to the detriment of another race.

The resultant Problems, both Indian and White, will defy any simple solution, or shortcut, or miraculous Act of Parliament, even of the omnibus variety.

But sometimes a portion of the conglomerate comes into sharp focus. The nature of the conflict becomes clear and simple. The alternatives by which it must be resolved, for better or worse, leave no room for equivocation or compromise; and responsibility for what happens falls wholly on one man in authority. By his decision, or pretence that none is necessary, he helps to augment or reduce the misery that is so manifest in the total Problem.

Indian Affairs and Northern Development Minister Jean Chrétien stands in this way today between the Indian residents of Hay River and those who propose to evict them from land they have occupied for many generations.

Mr. Chrétien is the minister of the Crown who is charged with safeguarding the interests of the Indian people, and has told many southern audiences of his concern for the wellbeing of Canada's original citizens and his desire to do right by them. But he is also the minister responsible for the Crown-owned Northern Transportation Company, which has now sneaked out from behind its Mills Lake smokescreen and other deceptive measures to reveal, at least in part, its designs upon the Old Indian Village on the east bank of the Hay River.

The revelation will come as no surprise to the Indians. It merely confirms what they have suspected all along—that officials of the Indian Affairs Department and the Territorial Administration have been speaking to them with "forked tongue" in trying to persuade them, and indeed intimidate them into moving from their traditional community.

Nor can Mr. Chrétien claim to be unaware of the situation that has been developing here or of the choice he now faces, for this is a topic upon which this newspaper has reported and editorialized frequently over several years.

The Indian people have made their position quite clear on many occasions—they don't want to move, or be squeezed out, or hemmed in.

They have frequently stated their desire to remain where they are, and have done so in the face of administration threats that they will be denied the services, utilities and benefits which the government has undertaken to supply to citizens, or at least to white citizens.

The Indians have made their choice with the knowledge that the government intends, as a consequence, to deprive them of the housing to which they are entitled and prevent them from receiving electric power, telephone and other amenities.

They have listened to many promises and seen ample evidence of the dearth of integrity on the part of those who came from the government to deal with them. They have heard all the arguments, both real and fanciful, which a succession of government officers have used in an attempt to convince them that they are going to be more comfortable when crowded onto some chunk of muskeg that is of no use to white society, where they can vegetate as welfare wards. They were not fooled by all that sophisticated guile, because they asked: "Why do you want our land?"

They know that they are few in number, poor, and not very well educated; and that they stand in the way of people who are rich and powerful, crafty, unscrupulous, and relentless in their greedy despoiling of land and air, forest, river and lake.

They surely have few allusions left about who among northern residents will become the first human wreckage that sinks in the wake of the good ship Carpetbagger.

And they realize that nothing they can do or say is likely to make any impression on the smart fellows far away in Ottawa and Yellowknife who play carelessly with the lives and manipulate the destinies of people whom they do not know nor understand.

They are an absolute pushover, even for the heavy-handed stumblebums with whom the Indian Affairs Department is populated.

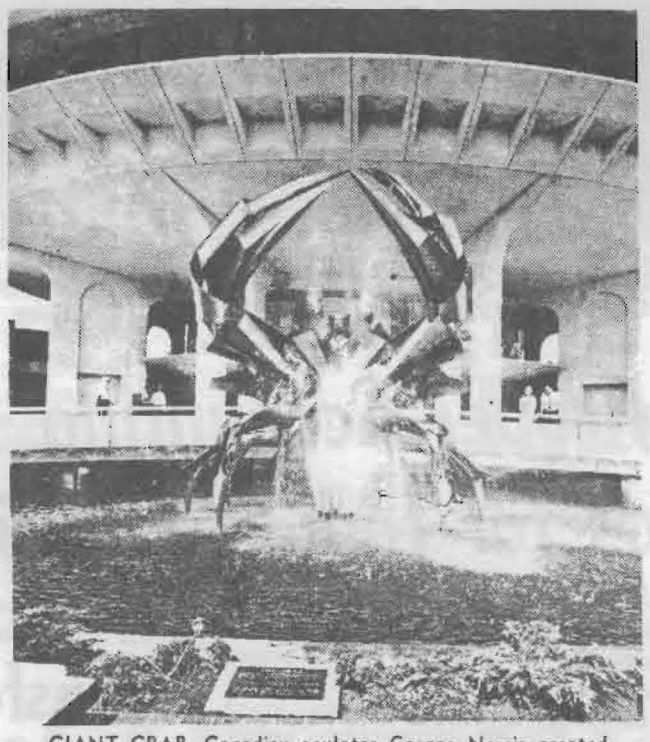
They will not resist the agression, Mr. Chrétien, nor cause any more trouble than they have on past occasions when the bailiffs of Civilization and Progress arrived to divest them of their land, their livelihood, their heritage, to deceive and cheat them, to corrupt them and defile their women and children.

They have no title nor legal claim to the land or the homes they occupy. Their only possession is a worthless scrap of paper called a Treaty.

They will offer you no threat, no word of defiance. And they will not raise a hand to protect themselves, because that is another faculty which was taken away from them and their forefathers by your many predecessors.

There is no longer any lock but your hand, Mr. Chrétien, to guard them against the plunder of avaricious and brutal men.

You have no other alternative but to stand with them, Sir, or help to trample them into the dust. Where do you stand?



GIANT CRAB. Canadian sculptor George Norris created this giant, stainless steel crab, after being inspired by a Canadian Indian legend that "the crab guards the harbor." The one-and-a-half ton creation is 22 feet high, 17 feet wide, and stands in front of Vancouver's one-and-a-half million dollar Planetarium/Museum. — TTS Photo

The circumstances of the Battle of Little Big Horn are fairly well known to the North American public. History books, popular novels and the even more authoritative motion picture and television epics have set forth most of the basic "facts."

In essence, an *intrepid* band of U.S. Cavalry led by the *dashing* and *noble* General Custer perished *gloriously* at the hands of *overwhelming hordes* of *savage* Indians commanded by the *treacherous* Chief Sitting Bull.

Less is known by the public about another "battle" which was fought about the same time and in the same locale by the same Sioux Indians and another troop of the U.S. Seventh Cavalry.

The Battle of Wounded Knee was another of those occasions when, as a newspaper headline of the day proclaimed, "The Troops Were *Taken at a Disadvantage* by the *Treacherous Foe.*"

What actually happened is that 500 U.S. soldiers intercepted about 120 Indians, most of whom were women and children. Surrounded by the troops, the Indians were disarmed of their two rifles.

Then, when the shooting started, the unarmed Indians proceeded to demonstrate their treachery by attacking the soldiers who were, according to official dispatches, at a "great disadvantage." In the "battle" which ensued one U.S. officer was killed and another was injured.

As for the Indians—"It is doubtful that if before night either a buck or a squaw out of all Big Foot's band will be left to tell the tale of this day's treachery," reported a Washington newspaper. "The members of the Seventh Cavalry have once more shown themselves to be heroes in deeds of daring."

To record the event for posterity the heroic soldiers stacked their trophies in a long trench and posed for photographs.

Conflict between government troops and Indians has been somewhat less bloody on the Canadian side of the border. (Successive governments in Ottawa have managed to achieve the same ends by perfidy of various sorts rather than violence.)

What emerges from the past and plays a significant role in the Indian-white relationships of today are the warped and devious conceptions of "fair play" and "right" and "wrong" which automatically place the native people at a great disadvantage.

In the past a fair "battle" was one in which white troops armed to the teeth and usually superior in numbers wantonly slaughtered unarmed Indian civilians, while a "massacre" was one in which they got thumped by a crudely armed Indian "war party."

Times have changed, but not much. A "fair" encounter between Indian and white still demands that the Indian be disarmed, handicapped and outnumbered.

It's no longer cannons, Gatling guns and rifles against arrows, tomahawks and bare hands. But the disparities of education, wealth and social machinery insure, just as certainly as in the past, that any contest between white and Indian will be an unequal and unfair exercise.

The Federal Government, having systematically deprived the native peoples of their lands, their livelihood, their skills, their heritage, is now inviting them to enjoy their "fundamental right . . . to full and equal participation in the cultural, social, economic and political life of Canada."

The Territorial Government preaches sermons about "equal" participation by Indians in a political system which has been devised to give whites every possible advantage, and handicap the natives.

The all-white municipal government in Hay River passes laws which the native residents must observe but won't spend any money on them because they are poor and can't pay taxes on property, which has all been taken away from them.

The right of native people to equal participation in the democratic life of the north is a rather sick joke, coming as it does after many years of councils and boards of which the white preponderence, and often purity, was guaranteed by government appointments.

All the red tape (or rather "white tape") in which democratic processes have been clothed by the administration are a virtual guarantee of non-participation by natives. The *Municipal* and *Hamlet Ordinances* are enough to confuse and frighten a Philadelphia lawyer. Their imposition on an unlettered Indian can hardly be claimed to put him on an equal footing with his white neighbours.

Even the timing of elections, the manner in which they are conducted, the electioneering activities which the administration assists or sanctions—all are designed to insure that the natives remain anything but equal and that they remain where the administration thinks they belong—down and out, subservient.

"WHAT DOES BROTHERHOOD MEAN, DAD?"

Globe and Mail — Indian history

Feb 9, 1970

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THE Federal Government has called on the provinces to rewrite their history textbooks so that all early Indians aren't depicted as bloodthirsty savages.

Some of them were, of course, but many were a peace-loving people.

Canadians will agree with Jean Chretien, Minister of Indian Affairs, that the Indians are entitled to a better break in the school texts. Since education is a Provincial responsibility, it is up to the provinces to make the historical changes necessary to satisfy our Indian population.

The Indians feel uncomfortable over the way history treats them. Ottawa agrees they have a justifiable complaint.

Mr. Chretien has pointed out that in most textbooks he has examined, Indians are nearly always the villains in battles with whites. Whenever whites won a skirmish, he added, it is described as an outstanding victory in the interests of peace in the new land.

But whenever the Indians won a battle, he said, it is described as "a massacre."

Actually, English-language texts deal with the situation more fairly than those in French. And Canadian texts aren't as ruthless as those produced in the U.S.

Our native population has made a great contribution to early Canadian history. Their role in it should be accurately portrayed.

A street with one-way arrows

Indians want schooling in own tongue, senators told

By CLYDE SANGER
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — The question of how Indians are to share in Canada's economic development without necessarily integrating into a white-dominated society was raised yesterday before the Senate Committee on poverty.

Walter Currie, president of the Indian-Eskimo Associa- said integration, "as it has been created, has been a street with arrows going in only one direction. It must be a street going in two directions."

Asked by Senator Chesley Carter (L, Newfoundland) how this could be done, Mr. Currie answered:

"It is so easy that it's amazing how fatheaded and chowder-headed everyone in our provincial schools is. You teach children in the context of the vernacular in which they are raised."

Under the Danish system of teaching in Greenland, he said, Eskimo children are taught in their own language for the first three years and introduced to Danish in their fourth year. "They have been truly integrated," he said, and added that these proofs of a better system have been available for Canadians to learn from for 20 years.

One need, he said, was to do a proper job of preparing teachers for working with Indian children. A start had been made. In Ontario a multi-media resource kit had been produced, and Mr. Currie said teachers were asking for this material at the rate of 150 a week.

Leaders of both the Indian-Eskimo Association and the National Indian Brotherhood appeared before the committee.

The senators showed some skepticism about a passage in the Brotherhood's brief which complained that a proposed $50-million Indian economic development fund to be spent over five years was "tokenism of the first order" and suggested $500-million would be more realistic.

Dave Courchene, president of the Manitoba Indian Brotherhood, told the senators: "The northern section of Canada is fantastically rich. We are saying we can help develop these resources, and set up pulp mills and fish plants and develop the tourist potential. Up to now integration has been all one way. They only want us as a cheap labor force. For a change now we should do the hiring, instead of someone always exploiting us."

Senator Donald Cameron (Ind. L., Alberta) asked if he meant Indians should take the lead in exploiting the mineral resources. Mr. Courchene answered: "Why can't we hire them? Lack of capital resources, I suppose?"

"Because it is easier for Imperial Oil and Noranda," said Senator Cameron.

"And we get poorer all the time," commented Mr. Courchene.

Each of the Indian leaders began the session with a short description of his upbringing, and they nearly all dwelt on the distorted image of Canada's Indians that is given in schools, films and on television.

Mr. Currie said he was born in Chatham, "one of the most racist towns in Ontario" because it was the end of the underground railway. He said there was "nothing in my schooling to make me proud of being an Indian. The teachers could only teach what was in the books—that Indians were bloodthirsty and cruel. And at the movies we were losing all the time. . . ."

Rev. Adam Cuthand of Winnipeg said an Indian needed four things to survive in Canada. He had to have a consciousness of himself; as well, "you have to force your way into society; you have to have a thick skin; and you have to have a religious conviction that an Indian child is made in the image of God."

And Walter Dieter told of the racial discrimination he had faced in a Regina suburb when he found "a bunch of white kids dancing round my 4-year-old daughter and singing 'she's an Indian.' It made me mad; I sold my house and moved to another community."

Regional poverty

JAN 2 0 1970

Aid to natives urged in plan

Canadian Press

OTTAWA—Programs to combat Indian and Eskimo poverty must be part of regional poverty programs, the department of Indian affairs and northern development said today in a brief to the Senate poverty committee.

The department brief also said there had been "three weaknesses" in its approach in the past to the poverty of Indians and Eskimos.

"Our experience as a department has led us to the conclusion that there have been, basically, three weaknesses in our approach to this matter: We have been paternalistic, even though it has been benevolent; we have tackled the problem of poverty in a fragmented and discriminatory rather than an integrated way; and we have misjudged the degree of competence required in human relationships . . ."

Senate committee hears leaders

"Globe & Mail" — Indians must lead poverty fight

By CLYDE SANGER
Globe and Mail Reporter

OTTAWA — Indians must lead the attack in their war on poverty, according to a brief to be presented today to the Senate committee on poverty by leaders of the National Indian Brotherhood and the Indian-Eskimo Association of Canada.

The brief says: "They will need help, but they must determine their own goals and the methods of attaining them . . . Given the confidence and the tools, they will defeat poverty and finish the job."

The size of help needed is suggested in one of the six recommendations to the Senate committee by Walter Dieter on behalf of the brotherhood, and Walter Currie for the association.

They ask for government aid to start industries and stimulate employment in Indian communities, pointing out that Canadian souvenirs are often made in Hong Kong and Japan, and suggesting also that auxiliary manufacturing plants could be encouraged to locate near Indian communities.

They point out the Indian Affairs Department has suggested a $50-million Indian economic development fund for use over a five-year period. "This is tokenism of the first order. It is recommended that a sum of $500-million over five years be provided as a more realistic amount."

The brief makes no direct mention of the Indian policy proposals announced by Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chretien in June, but is curtly critical of what it calls "the so-called new approaches of the past few years."

Analysis of these approaches, the brief says, "reveals strong continuity with the past: Paternalistic thinking, short-run goals, reluctance to spend."

The Indian leaders want effective action, not prolonged research. Feasibility studies may be necessary, they allow, "but the broad outlines of what has to be done are known now . . . the great need is to initiate effective action."

But they are also sternly critical of one large segment of government action of the past few years—school integration, under which, with a federal subsidy, Indian children are taken by bus from the reserves to local provincially run schools. At present about 42,000 Indian children in the provinces are enrolled at joint or integrated schools, while 25,000 are in federal schools.

The brief scorns the original education policy, saying the objectives of the reservation schools "were very modest, the techniques crude, and the results poor."

It then goes on: "Unfortunately, when reform came, the faults of the old system were too simply assigned to the segregated schools—as if integrations would supply equality of opportunity."

Instead, the brief says, provincial departments of education offer no special help for Indian students, and the education system makes no special adjustment to their presence. Textbooks, goals and subject matter are quite irrelevant to the situation of most Indian children, who drop out in their early teens at about Grades 6 or 7.

It argues, in a final recommendation, that the federal and provincial governments should "recognize that the present approach to education, based on cultural replacement or genocide, should cease."

Instead, steps need to be taken to insure Indian control of education programs, and planners should be required to examine the successful programs developed abroad—such as the Danish approach to Eskimo education in Greenland, or the Russian approach to their Eskimos.

This recommendation crystallizes a nub of difference between Indian leaders and Mr. Chretien's proposals, unless the provinces set about substantial changes in their syllabus and school structure. Mr. Chretien suggested last summer that within a five-year period the responsibility for extending educational services should be entirely transferred to the provinces.

The brief also argues that the overhaul of Indian policy is coming a decade later than it should have. The late 1950s was the time when it should have "been completely overhauled—past mistakes admitted and real help brought to upgrade skills and improve access to jobs, whether on or off the reserve."

NREAL STAR, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1969

School system criticized

'Textbooks neglect history of Indians'

Canadian Press

SASKATOON — "It's about time the textbooks were changed and something written about the history of Indians, of their culture and of their heroes."

So says an Indian mother of four grown children who criticizes the education system for neglecting Indian history in textbooks.

Ida McLeod, a counsellor with the Indian affairs department who moved to Saskatoon last August to work toward an education degree, says there is nothing in the texts that glorifies any Indian.

"Indian children are never given the chance to be proud of their being Indian because their history and culture has never been researched or written about."

Classrooms apparently do not support the theory that what a child learns in the early years will form at least 50 percent of his character for the rest of his life, she said in an interview.

"These are the years when the children should begin to learn of Indian culture and the place of the Indian in history. This would encourage them to be able to grow up and be able to say 'I'm proud to be an Indian.'"

Mrs. McLeod, a Cree, was the principal of the Sandy Lake reserve school for two years and a teacher for 14. She was raised on the reserve and attended school in Saskatoon, graduating from Bedford Road collegiate and teachers' college.

Since graduation she has taken several university courses and now is working toward her degree in Indian education.

While she believes education is the key to open many doors, Mrs. McLeod says Indians and whites have different attitudes toward education.

White people used education as a tool to get material things, but material things were less important in an Indian society.

Indian children often faced a language barrier in schools.

Judge says crime bred by 'appalling' reserves

SAULT STE. MARIE — Provincial Judge James Greco yesterday described conditions on Algoma area Indian reserves as "terrifying" and "appalling."

He made his comments in sentencing two residents of the Batchawana reserve, convicted on charges of assault with intent to steal.

'For God's sake let's help our own aboriginal people'

Civil war ends in Nigeria. International observer teams report no sign of genocide, little evidence of starvation. Now, when it is really too late, the world stands ready with outstretched hands, offering the help that was needed months ago. Must we always be too late?

When the Biafran situation is finally resolved, will the mass media face a dearth of sensational news with which to clobber the Canadian conscience? Will editors everywhere search the globe for some other under privileged people upon which to focus the eyes of the unwitting public? Will the churches raise their voices in the cause of the beggar-children who pick their way through the streets in search of food? And will Parliament hold special sessions, send teams of observers, and spend millions of dollars to help these unfortunate people?

I feel very strongly that there is as much need (if not more) for attention to the living conditions of our own aboriginal people as there is to the unfortunate children in countries overseas. To my mind, to give assistance to people in other parts of the world while we ignore the wretched conditions which exist among so many of our native people is the sheerest form of hypocrisy.

There is an inquiry going on right now about two small girls who starved and froze to death on the Sturgeon Lake Reserve, north of Edmonton, before Christmas. The coroner, of course, put the blame on the parents. But what made the parents that way? What makes these people so hopeless, so often choosing the path to oblivion rather than facing the responsibilities that were stripped from them by the white man?

We made them that way—all of us. That's the way it's been since we stepped ashore on their land and started to tell them who they were and what they should do. And we are still telling them. And where has it got them?

Yes, we are the guilty ones, and every time we are silent about our suffering aboriginal people, with every inch of news space and air time that could be (and is not) devoted to their suffering, to righting the wrongs against these people, we are guilty again. Guilty of participating in the gigantic conspiracy of the Great White Father to send these people down a one-way road to oblivion.

Quite a few of our Indian people have told me that welfare was the worst thing the white man ever did to them. They don't ask for welfare. They don't want hand-outs. All they want is that the original treaties be honored.

Every day I hear that we are spending millions of dollars on overseas aid. If only some sense of proportion could be achieved. If only the government would take first things first, instead of diverting attention from conditions in this country by playing up conditions elsewhere.

Why couldn't a team of government researchers, together with impartial representatives of the press, visit the black spots in Canada to see for themselves the conditions in which Canadian Indians live? Tell them to fly to Dominion City, south of Winnipeg. Send them to Camp 10 at Churchill. Show them the people living in tents at Moosonee. Fly them to the Mic-Macs on the Shubenacedy Reserve near Halifax. Get a man like Harold Cardinal, author of The Unjust Society, to guide them. He knows where it's really at.

For God's sake let's take our blinkers off and clean up our own house before we destroy these people and before someone else finds out about them and points to Canada as the most hypocritical country in the world!

No one in his right mind would ever underestimate the power of the press. I have seen what a few well-chosen words from The Star's columnist Lotta Dempsey did for the children of the Long House People of the Grand River Lands, near Brantford, over Christmas. With a few willing helpers, I managed to get toys and clothes to over 500 of them during the past few weeks. But it is not enough, it is only a beginning.

I make this plea to the press: Please give some space, some thought to the plight of the Indians of our country. Get photographs of the people in their tents, the hungry children, who exist *right here in Canada*. Show the public the hellish conditions that we have driven these people to.

Instead of the Indian Hall of Fame at the CNE each year there should be an Indian Hall of Shame, showing how things really are for the Indians. And an Indian Wall of Shame, an exhibition of photographs showing the terrible squalor and poverty of so many of our original people. And all because the white man doesn't understand them, and so few even care.

JOHN MORLEY
Toronto

Contributions to Voice of the People should be addressed to Voice of the People, 80 King St. W., Toronto 1. All letters must include the full name and address of sender; street names will not be published. The Star reserves the right to edit all contributions but will take every precaution to preserve the context of the correspondent's argument.

Indians have nine children to whites' two, official says

From our Ottawa bureau

OTTAWA — The average Indian woman in Canada bears nine children during her lifetime compared with the national average of just over two, a government official told members of Parliament yesterday.

Following the health department official's statement, Health Minister John Munro, testifying before the Commons Indian Affairs Committee, said the government has no intention of starting a birth control information program for Indians—even if Indian leaders ask for it.

Pills, Not Planning For Indians

(By The CP) — Birth control pills are made available to Indian women but there is no government family-planning program carried out among Indians, Health Minister John Munro said Tuesday.

Mr. Munro also told the Commons Indian affairs committee he doubts whether the government would accede to any Indian request that it enter the family-planning field.

No request had yet come from Indians but if one was received, Mr. Munro said, it would pose a constitutional problem and also it should carry out such a pro-

ER, PIERRE... YOU THINK YOU HAVE PROBLEMS WITH FRENCH AND ENGLISH... TRY TAKING MY RESERVE AWAY AND SEE WHAT A REAL SCALPING IS LIKE...

MONTREAL GAZETTE
FEB - 9 1970

Wrong place for pow-wow, Trudeau tells protesters

About 35 Indians protesting the government's Indian policies waited outside the Bonaventure Hotel last night while Preme Minister Trudeau was being honored inside for his work in human rights.

The demonstrators chanted, used their placards as tom-toms and handed out leaflets. As the prime minister was leaving their spokesman managed to present him with another award — "the most unjust man of the year."

"This is a hell of a place to come and see me." the prime minister replied.

Canada's first Indian commissioner :

Treaty claims to be clarified in 'Indian time'

By BEN TIERNEY

OTTAWA — (Gazette) — A tall, pipesmoking no-nonsense university vice-president has been named as Canada's first Indian claims commissioner.

Lloyd I. Barber of the University of Saskatchewan, a man who grew up in a Metis community near Regina, was appointed yesterday to the job that is already being described as the Indians' ombudsman.

Dr. Barber, who now serves as one of five government-appointed members of the North-west Territories Council, will have as his number one job the task of reviewing all of Canada's Indian treaties to determine whether or not Canada has lived up to them.

"It isn't going to be like adjudicating a contract," he says.

"It isn't going to be just a case of deciding what the treaties say. We are going to have to consider what was meant. We're going to have to consider what the Indians think they said."

Dr. Barber concedes that the treaty claims could reasonably be described as a can of worms and his job of sorting them out could reasonably be regarded as potentially Canada's most thankless, but that, he says, means a challenge.

"It's not something that can be rushed.

"If this were a case of a disagreement involving whites only I might be able to say, 'Okay, this is what I'm going to do.' But, it isn't that way. It's going to call for patience and understanding of the Indian time scale. They're not a clock-punching people "

Dr. Barber will perform his Indian Claims Commissioner duties on a part-time basis — staying on as vice-president at the University of Saskatchewan — but will be assisted by a small administrative staff in Saskatoon and researchers hired as necessary.

As his first step he plans to contact Indian organizations throughout the country, letting them know of his existence and his purpose.

For most, that will hardly be necessary.

Since the government's intention to create the post was announced as part of the new Indian policy in June of last year, Indian leaders having been waiting with some interest the appointment of the commissioner, and some have already launched their own research projects in preparation for putting their case before the new man.

That's so much the better from the point of the 37-year-old Dr. Barber, who believes the Indian people must be given every chance and every assistance in making their case.

MARCH 14, 1970

Kahn-Tineta Fails In Bid To Lay Charge

Kahn-Tineta Horn, Indian activist from Caughnawaga Reserve, has been informed she has no case against a Cornwall policeman she claims assaulted her during an incident at the Seaway International Bridge in December of 1968.

Miss Horn tried to lay a charge against the officer last fall. During the bridge incident she was arrested for obstructing police and then charged with possession of an offensive weapon. She was acquitted at her trial last October.

She returned to Cornwall later in the year in an attempt to lay a charge of assault against the arresting officer. Her request was turned down by Crown Attorney Malcolm MacDonald.

'Unjust Society' author's views

Indian leader says they mostly fear Quebec

French Canada has been "glaringly silent on Indian aspirations," says a 24-year-old Cree from northern Alberta.

Harold Cardinal, who has written a book about the problems of Canada's Indians called The Unjust Society, told a press conference last night he feels Quebec's understanding of holding a minority position has not led to a better deal for Quebec Indians.

He felt sorry for local Indian leaders who had to deal with Quebec authorities.

Mr. Cardinal is president of the Indian Association of Alberta and is the son of the chief of his reserve.

Most receptive

He said Alberta, despite the fact that it had a conservatvie Social Credit government, had been the most receptive to Indian needs and hopes—a paradox with which he was only too pleased.

Asked whether he thought that rural Indians could go on indefinitely practicing their traditional pursuits of farming, hunting and trapping he replied that would be "economically unrealistic."

He said he would be happy to welcome industries on Indian lands which in turn would produce other forms of commerce. Ottawa seemed to want to move Indians to industries, whereas he would rather bring industries to Indians.

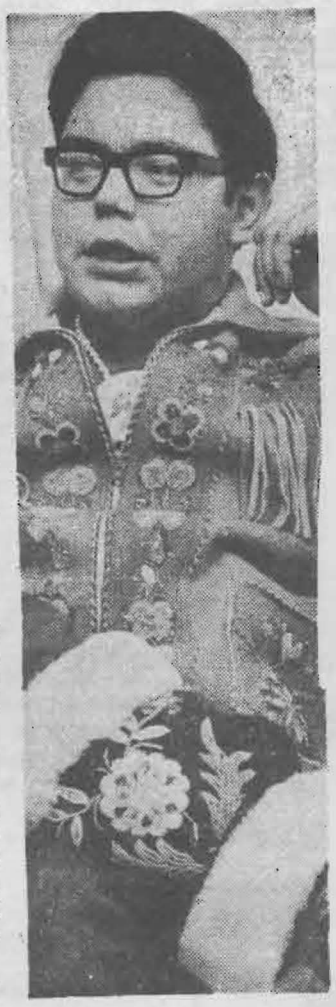
It is possible for an Indian to live and work in a big city and still retain his cultural identity, but a great deal depended on the kind of education such an Indian had in his youth, Mr. Cardinal said.

Also, he added, modern transport and communications, had made it possible for Indians to maintain contact not only with their own people on nearby reservations but also with Indians in other provinces and those south of the border.

obligation, would be looking to the federal government to help finance such a program.

Culture centre

On a similar basis he would like to see the establishment of an Indian training centre, open to any interested person, Metis, white or anyone else, but geared towards maintaining and strengthening Indian values.



Harold Cardinal wants Indian training centre

Indian aid authority said lacking

MONTREAL GAZETTE JAN

QUEBEC — (CP) — A spokesman for the Quebec natural resources department said yesterday that if the province has done little to help Indians it is because it has no constitutional authority to do so.

The Quebec spokesman said the government attaches little importance to statements made by someone who "gives the impression only of looking for publicity."

"Of all the provinces," said the spokesman, "Quebec is perhaps best qualified to assume the affairs of Indians because it has already begun to dispense its services to Eskimos."

Eskimos want voice in own future, but Ottawa and Quebec won't listen

45

Sir, — We Eskimo people of Arctic Quebec are in the middle of a political situation that gets worse by the minute. As you know, the federal government was the first government agency to set up assistance programs here in Northern Quebec. These programs included things like welfare, education, medicine and so on. For the last eight years the province of Quebec has been attempting to take over these programs. So far they have taken over only the medical services. Their efforts in other areas such as education have been poor, showing almost no progress.

The federal government began to phase out their programs in Northern Quebec to allow the province to eventually take over. Discussions between the two governments took place and in some cases Eskimo representatives were reluctantly invited to attend. The unfortunate thing is that we have never been taken seriously by either government. Our suggestions have never been considered and for the most part we have not been kept up to date on important aspects of the takeover.

At present we have heard rumors that Quebec will in fact take over in April in Northern Quebec. Many issues of vital concern to us have not even been mentioned.

If we are scared, we cannot be blamed. For example, in the area of education we have hundreds of children who have received instruction in English only. We have been given no assurance that the children will be allowed to continue their education in English. We also have many parents who would like to have their beginning students learn English. We have not been told whether or not we will have a choice between French or English. Education is only one example. Future plans for welfare and employment are equally vague.

Most of our contacts have been with English-speaking whites. The provincial and federal governments seem to think that they can make vital changes for us whether we agree or not. We have nothing in common with French people and can see no reason why we should undergo a massive change.

The province of Quebec did not even realize that we existed until eight years ago. After eight years of mistakes, we wish they had never noticed us. On the other hand if they would start to treat us as Canadian citizens who can think for ourselves; we might not be so fearful.

If they would tell us what they are planning on doing, and ask us if we approve of it, we would have more confidence in their action.

We, the people of Arctic Quebec, feel that we have been abandoned by the federal government. If the federal government no longer wishes the responsibility we would at least like the chance to operate as a separate unit as in the N.W.T.

Another problem is that by aligning with Quebec we must also suffer the stigma of separatism that hangs over Quebec.

All we want is a chance to have some part to play in shaping our future. We have not been allowed to do this and we don't believe we will improve matters by keeping quiet. We believe we are Canadian citizens who are not being treated as responsible adults. If we are ever to learn the ways of the white man, we must be treated as people not cattle. We think that the rest of Canada should know what is happening here and perhaps they will help us in putting political pressure on the government.

Mark Annanack,
George River, Que.

Three months in jail for a woman— a lesson for the people of New Quebec!

Sir, — Righteous cruelty never ceases.

When abortion at will is slowly but surely winning public acceptance even in Quebec; when, privately, Montreal women with enough money can buy their 21-day excursion tickets to London if they need an abortion and prefer it to be legal; when in a socially progressive country, namely Denmark, courses in self-abortion are now offered to women openly — when that is the indubitable trend in our "advanced" societies, it horrifies me, and I dare hope some others more powerfully placed, to read that a criminal court judge in Montreal sentenced a poor Eskimo woman from James Bay to three months in prison for self-abortion.

In confirmation of the cruelty of the sentence, I would quote the judge's own remark that "three months in jail would be very hard on a person accustomed to a free life."

Of course the most harrowing aspect of the case was the plight of that wretched woman.

But there were also shameful sidelights on some Canadians' attitude to Eskimos in this day and age, and on the application of personal punishment to effect social change:

"Police and Crown officers agreed that it (self-abortion) was a recognized custom (in her community) . . . but that efforts should be made to eradicate it.

"Judge Gaboury agreed and added that three months in jail . . . should be sufficient to indicate to people in New Quebec that this practice should be discontinued."

This was an infamous case, both from the humanitarian and social points of view. If the Eskimos were more numerous, I think they would start their own separatist movement.

Brian Harris,
Montreal.

The Montreal Star

Judge rules on Eskimo

Trial here would be unfair

By LEON LEVINSON

Sessions Judge Albert Malouf ruled yesterday that the trial of a New Quebec Eskimo here on a charge of disturbing the peace 1,000 miles away would be "tantamount to a denial of justice."

He granted a motion by defence counsel to "stay" the proceedings against George Ittoshat, 25, who was accused of the offence by being drunk at a wedding reception in a public dance hall in his hometown, Great Whale Post on Hudson Bay, on Dec. 12.

The young northerner was not present to hear the good news since he was not required to be present in court for the summary convictions proceedings. He has been back in Great Whale since just before Christmas on a nominal $100 personal undertaking set by the same judge.

A few days after the alleged offence, he was flown here and was held in custody for a week after his arraignment because he had no local relatives or friends to house him and feed him if he were to be released on bail.

Bail was fixed when a local city fireman, Georges Dubreuil, came to court and undertook to take him into his home until his next appearance in court.

Furthermore, to provide himself with a proper defence he would have to be able to bring his own witnesses at his expense — the return fare is $170 — and they would have to be lodged at least overnight here.

The accused was flown back to Great Whale at government expense on Dec. 23 after the judge threw out an indictable offence charge of obstructing a police officer in the exercise of his duties, when the Crown said it had no proof to offer.

In his 10-page written judgment yesterday, Judge Malouf said that while a Quebec statute gave jurisdiction to him to try an accused from New Quebec, he also had an inherent right to "interfere in order to ensure that a defendant has a fair trial."

"I am of the opinion that this Court not only has the right but also a duty to protect citizens against harsh and unfair treatment," said Judge Malouf.

"The duty of this Court is not only to see that the law is applied but also, which is of equal importance, that the law is applied in a just and equitable manner. All citizens are equal in the eyes of the law and must receive 'fair play'."

The GAZETTE, Montreal, Tues., Feb. 24, 1970

Quebec Eskimos opt for Ottawa

OTTAWA —(CP)— Eskimo leaders in five Arctic Quebec communities have sent a telegram to a civil liberties group here saying they want to remain under the federal government.

Text of the telegram was released yesterday at a news conference called by the Civil Liberties Association of Canada.

The telegram said that Eskimos living in northern Quebec decided that they did not want Ottawa to transfer responsibility for them to Quebec.

Chief Andrew Delisle, president of the Indians of Quebec Association, told the news conference that the Federal Government had intended April 2 to transfer to Quebec jurisdiction of Indians and Eskimos living in Arctic Quebec.

Mr. Delisle said Indian protests at a Quebec City meeting last month led federal officials to agree to delay the transfer.

For the last five years or more, the federal and Quebec governments have been discussing the possibility of the province providing services to the Quebec Indians and Eskimos which are now provided by Ottawa.

Northern Development Minister Chretien has said that no transfer of responsibility will be made without consultation with the Eskimos.

He declined to reply in the Commons Friday when asked by NDP Leader T. C. Douglas whether the Eskimos also must consent to the transfer.

The Civil Liberties Association asked Mr. Chretien for assurances that no federal services have been withdrawn from Eskimo communities in Quebec.

Text of the telegram sent by the Eskimo leaders in Sugluk, Ivuyivik, Povungnituk, Port Harrison and Great Whale River:

"This telegram is being sent by the Eskimos living in northern Quebec. We have decided after many talks with our people we want the Federal Government to keep on looking after us. We do not want Quebec looking after us.

"We are people of Canada and we want our rights respected. We want our choice of governments to be made by us and not forced on us by people who do not listen to our wishes."

Great White Father attacked

Rage with Ottawa growing

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THURSDAY FEB - 5 19

As McGill's excellent teach-in on the Indian moves into its final day, the participants are getting very, very angry with the Great White Father.

From British Columbia's MP Frank Howard to militant Unjust Society author Harold Cardinal, there is a growing rage with the Ottawa powers-that-be.

Led on by government promises that the Indian white paper would be discussed at length with the people it affects, Indian leaders now feel that the government has little intention of doing so.

The frustration is real. As was brought up several times yesterday, "if the government was serious why didn't they send more than civil servants to the teach-in."

Indian Affairs Minister Jean Chrétien — called "crétin" by the participants — was invited. He didn't come.

Yesterday, his representative was Cy Fairholm, Senior policy adviser to the assistant deputy minister for Indian consultation and negotiation — a title full of sound that ignites fury because it signifies civil servants.

In a panel discussing Indians and the law, Fairholm underwent a full-scale attack on the Indian Affairs Act.

But it was like throwing darts at a marshmallow.

He agreed, for example, that the law discriminates against Indian women who marry whites and should be changed.

He was attacked for the government's inadequate legal aid system. He agreed with the attacker.

He agreed with countless points — but rightfully pointed out that he was powerless to change the system.

There was a similar confrontation at the evening session. This time the government representative was Russell Moses, another civil servant. Moses is regarded as the token Indian in the Indian-Eskimo Bureau of Indian Affairs and Northern Development.

His answers to pointed questions reflected his claim that as a civil servant, he was limited in what he could say.

But there was no real anger at him. Alberta Indian Association president Cardinal reflected the mood of the audience when he said with a touch of sorrow that it was "too bad that men of the calibre of Moses were working for Indian affairs when their own people needed them."

The major conviction rising out of the session was that what the government is touting as a "policy that can be changed" is really a policy on the verge of becoming law.

Cardinal at 24 symbolic of a new, articulate Indian youth, said the consultative body the government set up as the supposed collector of Indian feeling is a hoax.

"They're the implementation team and let's not forget it. In Alberta, we have no need for the 'team.'

"We are quite competent. We can deal with the political leaders directly.

Mr. Howard of the NDP charged that the government is spending $100,000 a month to implement the white paper. Cardinal said there has been a slow transfer of federal responsibilities to the provinces which will inevitably culminate in a full transferral under the new law.

"The transfer of basic rights to a level of government that has nothing to do with us is a blatant breach of trust."

Cardinal charged that the government is using a bogeyman in its campaign, saying that what the Indians are demanding is apartheid. He said this was sheer arrogance.

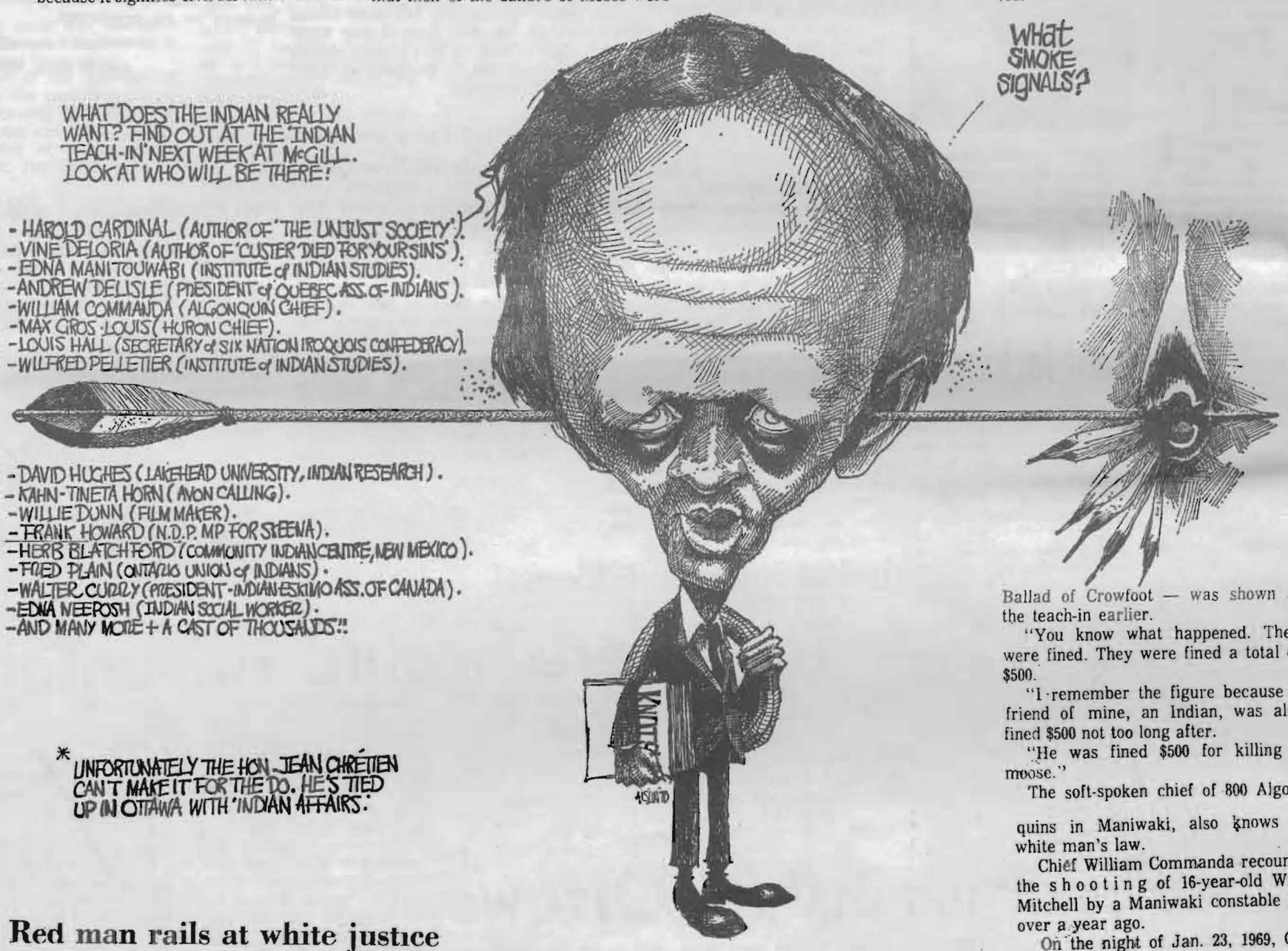
The parallel being drawn between the Indians and a separate Quebec "is painting a similarity where there is none."

Fred Plain from the Ontario Union of Indians said it would be naive to think that the red man can go back in time to sheltered reservations.

"We will assimilate — but on our terms. We intend to keep our culture and our heritage. Despite overwhelming odds, we are growing in numbers. We will survive.

"The white man tells us to establish claim for our lands ceded by treaty through the courts. We think it is time for the white man to establish his claim to occupancy of North America."

The Montreal Stor


WHAT DOES THE INDIAN REALLY WANT? FIND OUT AT THE 'INDIAN TEACH-IN' NEXT WEEK AT McGILL. LOOK AT WHO WILL BE THERE!
- HAROLD CARDINAL (AUTHOR OF 'THE UNJUST SOCIETY').
- VINE DELORIA (AUTHOR OF 'CUSTER DIED FOR YOUR SINS').
- EDNA MANITOUWABI (INSTITUTE of INDIAN STUDIES).
- ANDREW DELISLE (PRESIDENT of QUEBEC ASS. OF INDIANS).
- WILLIAM COMMANDA (ALGONQUIN CHIEF).
- MAX GROS-LOUIS (HURON CHIEF).
- LOUIS HALL (SECRETARY of SIX NATION IROQUOIS CONFEDERACY).
- WILFRED PELLETIER (INSTITUTE of INDIAN STUDIES).
- DAVID HUGHES (LAKEHEAD UNIVERSITY, INDIAN RESEARCH).
- KAHN-TINETA HORN (AVON CALLING).
- WILLIE DUNN (FILM MAKER).
- FRANK HOWARD (N.D.P. MP FOR SKEENA).
- HERB BLATCHFORD (COMMUNITY INDIAN CENTRE, NEW MEXICO).
- FRED PLAIN (ONTARIO UNION of INDIANS).
- WALTER CURLY (PRESIDENT - INDIAN-ESKIMO ASS. OF CANADA).
- EDNA WEEPOSH (INDIAN SOCIAL WORKER).
- AND MANY MORE + A CAST OF THOUSANDS!!
* UNFORTUNATELY THE HON. JEAN CHRÉTIEN CAN'T MAKE IT FOR THE DO. HE'S TIED UP IN OTTAWA WITH 'INDIAN AFFAIRS'.
WHAT SMOKE SIGNALS?

Ballad of Crowfoot — was shown at the teach-in earlier.

"You know what happened. They were fined. They were fined a total of $500.

"I remember the figure because a friend of mine, an Indian, was also fined $500 not too long after.

"He was fined $500 for killing a moose."

The soft-spoken chief of 800 Algonquins in Maniwaki, also knows the white man's law.

Chief William Commanda recounted the shooting of 16-year-old Willie Mitchell by a Maniwaki constable just over a year ago.

On the night of Jan. 23, 1969, Constable Graham Labelle commanded Willie and two of his friends to stop and be searched. The boys were suspected of stealing light bulbs.

Willie ran. The constable shot. The police bullet bored through his neck and smashed through his cheek. But he stayed alive. (A charge of theft was never laid.)

The provincial police investigated. The constable told them that he had "tripped and the gun went off accidentally." The constable was cleared.

"Willie will never be the same," said his mother last night. "His neck was broken and all his teeth were smashed. His mouth was wired shut for weeks. He's still having trouble with his legs.

"You know what they did," said Chief Commanda, "they promoted the constable. Now he swaggers around town with not one gun, but two. One on each hip."

Red man rails at white justice

By BRIAN McKENNA

They call their grapevine the moccasin telegraph. It murmurs these stories about the white man and his law.

On the night of May 13, 1963, Allen Thomas from the Saulteaux Indian reserve was asleep in a tent pitched on the fairgrounds in the Prairie town of Glaslyn, Sask.

A handful of other Indians were camped around him. Allen, 23, was still weak from a recent struggle with the disease of the poor — tuberculosis.

As the story is told, the Indians that day had embarrassed the white man, who owns the town.

"They got real mad," remembered Ron Grant, a silver-tongued Métis attending the McGill teach-in on the Indian yesterday. "They were going to teach the savages a lesson."

The lesson came at 2 a.m. Allen Thomas was too sick to run when the white men descended on the encampment.

"A mob charged in and began to beat everyone up. They knocked over the tents. They tied one old Indian up in one tent. He nearly suffocated.

"Allen was still in his tent. They trampled him. They jumped up and down on him. They crushed his chest and crushed his skull.

"The police didn't come until the next morning. Allen was still alive — but they refused to take him to the hospital 45 miles away. They told ar Indian to take him. The Indian had an old car, maybe a 46 Ford or Chevrolet that maybe could do 40 miles."

On the way to the hospital, Allen Thomas died.

As a result, nine men were charged by the RCMP with non-capital murder.

"I'll never forget the trial," said Grant, a young Louis Riel in a brown buckskinned jacket. "I took off school to attend it. They made the Indians look like fools. Many couldn't speak English and there wasn't a proper interpreter."

"So the white men got off."

The moccasin telegraph also tells the story of the young Indian girl, Rosemary Roper, whose bruised and violated body was found in a quarry near Williams Lake, B.C.

"It was about a year-and-a-half ago. Three men were arrested — but they had a lot of pull in the local town.

"The first charge was third-degree murder. Then it was reduced to manslaughter, then to common assault." recounted Indian filmmaker Willie Dunn, whose pungent lament — The

Amerind teach-in blunts newly-proposed policy

FEB - 3 1970

Canadian, U.S. Indians discuss pact

Staff photo by Bill Robson

Indians warned of white policy

MTL STAR
TUESDAY FEB - 3 1970

By BRIAN McKENNA

The man who wrote Custer Died for Your Sins and coined the war cry of the Red Power movement — We Shall Overrun — took the hatchet to the government white paper on Indian Affairs last night.

Vine Deloria of Denver, Colo., warned Indians attending a McGill teach-in on the North American Indian that, if implemented, the policy would wipe them out.

"They're telling you to get off the reservations and come into the white man's society.

"I'll tell you, the white man has plans for your reservations. The Mohawk reserve in Caughnawauga, for example, is prime industrial land. They'll go after that first."

Deloria, who was involved in the recent occupation of the abandoned prison island of Alcatraz, said experience in the U.S. shows it is disastrous for the Indian to leave the reserve.

He said half the Indian population of 1,000,000 in the U.S. were living in the poverty ghettos of American cities.

"Press for education in the language of the reservation," he advised. "Make the Indian religion the religion of the reserve."

A key strategy for keeping the movement alive, he said, is to clean out "the traitors among you."

He said there were some Indians ready to sell out their brothers to the white man. "You've got to find out who they are — if you don't know already — and get rid of them."

Also, he said, follow the example of the U.S. tribes and force the government to recognize aboriginal rights. "Make them buy the land from you."

So far, he said, the U.S. commission set up to deal with Indian claims has settled with 113 tribes to the tune of $150,000,000.

Warns of hoax

Deloria warned that the most dangerous recommendation of the Canadian white paper was the item suggesting that control of Indian lands be transferred to Indian people.

He said this was a hoax to get the reserves put on the tax rolls. With no money, the tribes would be taxed out of existence.

There is no contradiction, he said, in making the government hold the lands in trust while at the same time giving the Indian the right of self-determination.

"And as for your minister — what's his name? Cretin? — please don't send him down to us. We've got enough problems."

By PAUL WATERS

American Sioux leader Vine Deloria last night proposed a "mutual defence pact between American and Canadian Indians against the white man."

He urged participants to hammer out a resolution for an agreement between the Indians of the two countries.

"If you can do it, I'll make sure it gets to the Inter-Tribe Conferences in the United States," Mr. Deloria said.

He promised participation of American Indians in Canadian demonstrations and teach-ins if Canadians could agree to a similar participation in the struggle of the Indians in the U.S.

"And if it comes down to a fight," he added with a laugh, "we might be able to send you five Sioux."

In a clause by clause condemnation of Canada's proposed new Indian policy, Mr. Deloria warned the policy would lead to the same injustices Indians in the United States have suffered.

A similar policy to "give Indians equality" was pushed through the Republican-dominated Interior Senate Committee in 1954. As result it turned the self-sufficient Monamany reservation in Wisconsin into the "worst pocket of poverty in the United States," Mr. Deloria said.

The land was sold away and the 3,200 Indians who had lived on $2,000,000 annual revenue the land produced were pushed into the cities.

"Now it costs the governments of the United States and Wisconsin $1,000,000 each to support those Indians," Mr. Deloria said.

The policy was the same as outlined in Canada's white paper, Mr. Deloria said: give the Indians equal rights by depriving them of their legal treaty rights.

He urged Indians to return to the original clauses outlined in their treaties and to stick by them.

A clause calling for the return of the control of Indian lands to the Indian people is simply a device to put the land on the tax rolls of the provinces and the Federal Government, Mr. Deloria said.

Women go to war on Indian laws

Montreal's burgeoning women's liberation movement takes to the warpath today at the McGill teach-in on the Indian.

At a conference designed to articulate Indian frustration, they may end up embarrasing some of the Indian leaders doing the talking.

But their choice barbs will be reserved for the white men maintaining the Indian Act, with what one member called "its built-in suppression of women."

Sparking the hassle was a long chat the liberation group had this week with a handful of Indian women who had married whites.

During the encounter they heard the frustrated Indian women tell how they are sundered from all rights and privileges once they marry whites.

Not only are they blacklisted by the tribe as traitors, but the law demands that they leave the reserve forever.

"They're deprived of any inheritance which might be due them, their children are not allowed to play with Indian children, swim in Indian pools, even allowed to be buried on the reserve once they die."

FEBRUARY 3, 1970

Indians lash back

'You came to civilize...'

By BRIAN McKENNA

When it was over, the McGill student must have felt like Dollard des Ormeaux.

The panelists at the opening session of McGill's teach-in on Indians were slicing deep into the white man.

"Your missionaries came to civilize our people," said U.S. Indian author Vine Deloria. "They told us we must cut our long hair to be clean and to be saved.

"Then you took us into class and showed us pictures of Christ. You know, the holy pictures where his hair falls shoulder-length.

"Now that we were Christians, the white man said we could no longer be warriors.

"Then you taught us to sing .Onward Christian Soldiers."

Cornwall's Mike Mitchell took up the tomahawk next:

"The white man came and said it was very bad for the Indian to have so many gods. He said it was wrong to give thanks for the waters and the woods, the air and the sun, the fields and the buffalo . . .

"And now you've discovered you're destroying yourselves. You've come up with a new science, ecology. You've discovered that you're going to have nothing left to give thanks for."

When the question period came, a McGill student walked up to the microphone. He said he was going to set a few things straight.

"I'm not sure about the Indians, but I know the Eskimos don't do much about ecology. I fished with an Eskimo who killed until his canoe was so filled he had to throw some back.

"We've got to have the other side too," he said, heading back to his seat.

Suddenly a young man in a buckskin jacket and tattered blue jeans knifed his way toward the microphone.

"My grandfather was an Indian. He was very old. He taught me how to fish and hunt.

"He told me that the Great Spirit was the creator of all living things. He taught me that the sun was my father and the earth my mother. He taught me to love the moon and the stars.

"When we went hunting for food, he taught me to kneel down beside the moose we killed and pray that another would be created to take its place.

"The white man said I need a licence to hunt. And of course only the white man has the money for the licence.

"I had brothers and sisters with empty bellies — but we couldn't hunt.

"So to get the money to eat we would guide and kill for the white man."

"Only when the white man came their killing was for more than to keep warm and fill empty bellies."

(Gazette Photo Service: Garth Pritchard)

INDIAN REVIVAL: Michael Mitchell, an Ontario Iroquois who says Indians are reviving their own values and traditions, welcomes visitors to McGill University's three-day teach-in on Indians.

AKWESASNE

Children Taught Mohawk Language, Culture By Unpaid Volunteers, Huddle Around Stove

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By MARY GILMOUR
Staff Writer

HOGANSBURG (Staff) — Mohawk children are striving under pitiful conditions here each Monday to learn the Mohawk language and culture.

They huddle around a wood-burning stove in near-freezing temperatures at the Long House, Hogansburg, where unpaid instructors impart Mohawk heritage to them.

Not only are the instructors unpaid, but they have to provide their own teaching aids and even wood for the fire, because the program is not recognized by any official agency on St. Regis Reserve.

About 150 students, from Grade 1 to 12, study there each Monday afternoon, granted permission to do so by the regular schools they attend.

The program encompasses Mohawk language, culture, history, crafts and dancing—all subjects not provided at other schools on the reserve.

"Mohawks are losing their language," said instructor Mrs. Ann Jock. "By starting these classes last year, we have tried to revive the Indian way of life. Older Mohawks speak the mother tongue, but youngsters are more likely to speak only English because it is the working language of schools on the reserve."

The program is run by Mrs. Jock, Tom Porter, Dick Laughing and Nancy Cole, who each take turns at teaching the youngsters.

Mrs. Jock and Mr. Porter taught the sessions in Reserve schools for a few months last year. But the program was curtailed by the department of Indian affairs last spring.

On the threat of boycotting reserve schools, a similar program was temporarily arranged in reserve schools but ended at semester.

There are 160 children registered in St. Regis schools, older students attend schools in Cornwall and New York State.

CHARGE PRESSURE

Long House officials charge pressure from different factions on the reserve is keeping the classes down to 150 students. The program started out with 125 and although new faces join each week, the strength of the classes remains about the same.

Rev. Michael Jacobs of St. Regis Catholic Church, a Mohawk himself, charged the program taught folklore rather than history, a charge denied by program instructors.

"The traditional way to teach Mohawk tongue is through parents," he said. "Children pick it up easily at home as it is a spoken language rather than a written one. Anyway, I don't feel Mohawks are losing their language."

However, a Long House spokesman estimated that only 25 per cent of older Mohawks on the reserve speak the mother tongue at home and another 10 percent of children.

The old Mohawk language was strictly verbal, but missionaries devised a way of using a short alphabet at the turn of the century, the same method taught at the Long House.

Mrs. Jock counteracted Father Jacobs' claim about teaching folklore, stating it was the program at the Long House that teaches history and the schools on the reserve that teach folklore.

"We have checked school history books that depict Indians as savages," she said. "Our program teaches the history of the Iroquois Confederacy, which includes the Great Law containing 124 articles which the American Constitution was based on."

MRS. ANN JOCK teaches Mohawk language using cards with each word in English on one side and in Mohawk on the reverse. Although the language is a verbal one, missionaries at the turn of the century devised a short alphabet for Mohawk, the method used by Miss Jock in teaching Mohawk children. The children sit in the Long House in near-freezing temperatures each Monday afternoon in order to study the language and Mohawk culture. There are no provisions made for such studies in schools on St. Regis Reserve.

(Gilmour, Photo)

Indians Gain Ground; Canada Orders Islanders To Vacate

Cottagers on Stanley Island could find themselves facing eviction orders before the end of the month if they can't produce written permission to be there.

St. Regis Band Council attempted last fall to break a lease under which the island, in the St Lawrence River and part of St. Regis Reserve, was leased in 1900 to an American citizen for 99 years — at $6 per year.

A letter sent recently to the 14 tenants on the island from C. T. Hyslop, assistant director of Indian - Eskimo Economic Development Branch in Ottawa, states proof of permission from the superintendent - general of Indian Affairs, must be produced within 15 days of the letter dated March 11.

"I am advised that you are in occupation of the parcel of land administered by this deepartment for the benefit of the Iroquois of St. Regis Band Indians," the letter states. "The St. Regis Island's Act provides that no person shall in any way use or occupy these lands in any manner without express consent of the superintendent - general of Indian Affairs.

"You are hereby advised that unless you can within 15 days of the date hereof produce such consent from the superintendent, you must vacate the said lands, leaving them in a condition satisfactory to the superintendent."

The 40-acre island, opposite Summerstown, several years ago was parceled into cottage lots and a private, nine - hole golf course. In recent years the lease was soid to an Alexandria man, Jean - Paul Touchette.

In the years subsequent to 1900, parts of the island were offered as leased lots to non-Indians and about 15 cottages, some valued at $20,000, were built there.

Leases on some of the cottage properties run around $150 per year, but the band still receives only $6 per year for the original lease which covers the entire island, less about one acre which was expropriated during construction of the Seaway, band council representatives charge.

STANDARD-FREEHOLDER, MARCH 13, 1970

Indians Sue On Land Deal Of the 1790s

UTICA, N.Y. (AP) — Contending the state underpaid their ancestors for land bought in 1795, a claim of $10,000 plus interest has been filed by the Oneida Indian Nation of New York against two counties.

The land was bought by the state and later sold to settlers and developers, but the Indians now contend the sale was not approved by the U.S. government as required under a 1790 law.

Fight for Return of Wampum Waged by Six Nation Indians

Watertown Daily Times
Watertown, N. Y.
Saturday, Mar. 14, 1970

FRANK P. AUGUSTINE
News Editor of The Times

The Six Nation Indians of New York State want their wampum back — or want it at least returned to Indian hands. To obtain it they have asked the one man who helped them get the right to vote in school district elections last year — Assemblyman Joseph P. Pisani of New Rochelle.

The wampum — ceremonial belts, some of which may go back to 1570, the time of Hiawatha — has been in the custody of the State Education Department since 1898. It has been housed at the New York State Museum and only a few of the priceless items have ever been placed on display. The rest are locked in storage.

The Indians have been trying for some time to get all the wampum back but so far their efforts have failed. Rebuffed in their attempts last year, they have just tried again. Once more the answer was "no." They even enlisted the assistance of the New York State Council on the Arts.

The council proposed the wampum be transferred to the Onondagas for keeping at a museum on the reservation. The groups' views were presented laast month to the Cultural Education Committee of the Regents. Hugh M. Flick, associate education commissioner, informed John Hightower, the council's executive director, of the Regents' decision.

"Every effort was made to be objective and to stress the merits of your proposal for the transfer of the wampum collection in the State Museum to the Onondaga Indians," Mr. Flick wrote Mr. Hightower this week. "After careful consideration and close questioning, the Regents decided to take no action, thus supporting the status quo."

With that reply available to him, the Indians' attorney, Dr. Omar Z. Ghobashy, New York City, who has been representing the tribes in numerous cases, turned to Assemblyman Pisani who had already expressed interest in the problem.

One of the stumbling blocks in persuading the Regents to change its position has been the fact that there have been, according to the education department, conflicting claims of ownership of the wampum.

— Times Staff Photo

DESECRATION CLAIMED—Desecration of the Longhouse is being claimed by members of the St. Regis Mohawk Longhouse Indians. Their sign, situated just off Route 37 in the hamlet of Hogansburg, has been "decorated" with "Christian Crosses". While the Longhouse religion bears some similarity to the Christian religion, Longhouse or traditional people belong to no Christian church. The markings on the sign, according to the Longhouse, point up the differences existing between the various factions of Indians now living on the reservation. Tom Porter, young Indian leader at the reserve, said it is very akin to the Nazi symbol being painted in Jewish Synagogues.